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IRISH CHURCH HISTORY.

VOL. II.

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CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION
TO THE REFORMATION.

WITH

Succession of Bishops down to the present day.

✓ BY

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AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND.

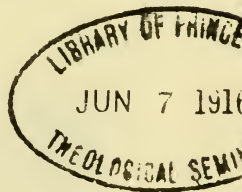
AUTHOR OF "TENANT-WRONG ILLUSTRATED IN A NUTSHELL." AND "VINDICATION OF
THE SAINTS, SHRINES, AND ROUND TOWERS OF IRELAND."

"Quamvis Eruditione et scientia inferior, nulla tamen sinceritate verique
studio cedere unquam sustinebo."—*Mab. Præf. Sæc. Prim. Benedictinum.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER XIX.

A DANGER and a scandal of a novel nature at this time made its appearance in Ireland. Any trouble before this to the Church came from violence—from some material cause. Now, it was purely of a spiritual, moral character. If it were a mere subtle plausible error it would be more mischievous; but it was gross witchcraft. What rendered it comparatively harmless was its extravagance. Witchcraft is the peculiar growth of no particular country or age.* There is a tendency in corrupt nature unchecked by God's graces to seek communion with and help from those evil spirits whose curse originally fell on it. Witchcraft is to be met with amid Jews and Gentiles. It had its growth even beside the infancy of Christianity.† So early as the days of Tertullian the Church found it necessary to guard the faithful against the filthy practices of witchcraft.‡ Though

* We may say of witches what Tacitus says of soothsayers, "genus hominum sperantibus fallax, semper vetabitur semper invitabitur."

† The canons of St. Basil imposed thirty years' penance on the practices of witchcraft.—Can. vii. 65.

‡ "You will find no enchanter, or fortune-teller, or magician unpunished in the Church."—Tertullian, *De Idol*; St. Chrysos., Hom. 8, in *Coloss*, p. 1374.

About the year 1460, Jacquetta, his mother-in-law, presented a petition to Edward IV. that the charge of witchcraft against her may not be believed. One Wade accused her of having an image as long as a man's finger, made of lead.—*Rot.*, P. VI., 232.

we may be prepared, then, for the spirit of error in any age and under any shape, still we cannot realise to ourselves the surprise and horror with which witchcraft, accompanied by the most filthy practices, was witnessed in the fourteenth century. The Christian commonwealths were somewhat of a theocratic character. Any error in faith was deemed treason and of the worst type, because it was directed against the Most High. Hence the anger and amaze in ages of faith at any monstrosity in religious matters. But, indeed, in any age the doings of Dame Kitler and Petronilla would be revolting. They were accused of communication with the demons, of having the name of the Evil One stamped on the sacred Host, and of offering sacrifices to him.* Indeed, so early as 1320, the Bishop of Ossory had to complain of some trouble given by heretics in his diocese. He alludes to it in a pastoral address. First, he dwelt at some length on the respect entertained in all ages, as well pagan as Christian, towards priests. "But," continued he, "a new sect differing from all the faithful through his diocese appeared amongst us—full of hellish spirits, more cruel than the Gentiles and Jews, persecuting the priests and bishops of God in life and at death, robbing the Church of Ossory, and earning for themselves the malediction of the Lord."

To meet these alarming evils, the bishop said he felt it his duty to use all means possible; and after dwelling for some time on the power of the Church,

* Gathering all the filth of the streets before the door of her son, Dame Kitler mumbled :

"To the house of William my son
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny town."

The eyes of cocks and nine chickens were offered to the evil spirit Artson, that is the son of Art.—Clyn; Dowling's *Annals*.

he proceeds : "Some of our subjects, however, children of iniquity, threaten to annoy us by dragging before secular tribunals priests and bishops who merely exercise the authority given them by the canons. Such people endeavour to prevent correction of sin, to the great scandal of God's Church, and to their own damnation."* Robert Dobyn, Thomas England, Henry Gillis, William Gillis, Robert Pfans, William FitzThomas, John Hamonde, Henry Dobyn, Philip Prodome, Geoffrey Roche Dobyn, and John Arnold took possession of the Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that of St. Columba, in Ossory, bound and plucked the eyes out of some and cut out their tongues, cruelly killed some of the canons, and grievously wounded Stephen, who was prior. Him and Bishop Ledred they obliged to give possession of the priory. In the diocese of Ossory these things continued, or got worse rather, till the year 1324. Then the enormities of the sectaries attained an unbearable height. Alice, or as she was styled, Dame Kitler, was the soul of these sad innovations. She was supported or joined by men in power. To one Outlaw, to Valle, to Power, to Blound or White, and, lastly, to one Richard she had been consecutively married. William Outlaw, her son by the first marriage, was accused of participation in her wild views and criminal actions. Men of wealth and influence, bankers and seneschals belonged to her kinsmen. Power, Seneschal of Kilkenny, endeavoured to prevent the Bishop of Ossory from proceeding canonically against Alice.† However, his entreaties did not prevail.

* Wilkin's *Councils*, vol. ii., p. 504.

† £3,000 were found, in 1302, in possession of William Outlaw. He said it belonged to Adam le Blound of Callan. An entry, too, of a sum of money paid for stuff which he gave a certain gentleman was found. Hence some think that he was a banker; others that he was a clothier, perhaps he was both.—*Rolls Pat.*, 3, Ed. II.; Pembridge's *Annals*, p. 101, note K.

The answers and conduct of the bishop, Richard Ledred, on the occasion were worthy of an Athanasius; but to carry out his plans the seneschal gave orders to a Power to have the bishop clapped in chains. Power accordingly came to the bishop, and insisted on his going to jail. The bishop required that the order for his committal should be produced. It was produced, and its genuineness acknowledged. In obedience to the order, the bishop told the bailiff or officer to touch him or the reins of his horse, otherwise he declared he would look on himself as not arrested. The bailiff dared not touch the bishop or the reins of his horse. His orders were, he said, to ask the bishop to prison, and if he refused to raise the hue and cry. To carry out his orders, then, he rode in front of the bishop, and so placed his horse that the bishop could not advance. At once the bishop took counsel with his attendants, who advised him to obey the warrant. He did obey. On being asked to present himself before the seneschal, the bishop replied that *in spirituals he was superior to the King of England*, and that as there was question of a spiritual case, a matter of faith, that he should not, by obeying orders, give bad example to the other prelates.* Crowds gathered round the bishop's prison. It presented the appearance of a palace, the theatre of a levee or of a festive hall. But the seneschal endeavoured to prevent such demonstrations as a censure on his own judgment. The archives were searched, and some old exploded charge against the clergy was trumped up against the bishop. It had reference to the goods of a deceased, the disposition of which by the bishop was questioned by the surviving wife. The archives were consulted, and a document turned up on which

* This is fatal to the theory of the king's supremacy in spirituals.

was written in reference to the matter, "quashed and not belonging to us."

At last, on the eighteenth day, the seneschal, finding no reasonable pretext for the confinement of the bishop, consented to his liberation; but here a difficulty occurred. The prelate would come forth from prison, not as a thief but only in full pontificals. It was the least reparation, he maintained, to be made to the first bishop who was ever imprisoned in Ireland. He, therefore, proceeded from prison, not as a captive or criminal, but as a triumphant hero. But as the day which was appointed for the trial of Outlaw had passed, the bishop fixed on another day. However, he was prevented from proceeding against the accused even on that day, for on that very day the bishop himself was summoned by the chancellor to appear and answer for laying the diocese of Ossory under an interdict without the leave of the justiciary. His appearance was required under pain of £1,000. The bishop defended himself by proxy. He said it would not be safe for him to appear in person. In the meantime the Archbishop of Dublin raised the interdict; he did so in ignorance of the facts of the case; because, he said, he would not have raised it had he thought there was question of a matter of faith. But as the seneschal was holding his court on Tuesday, after the octave of Easter, the bishop resolved to address a few words to him before the people and invoke the secular arm. He was repelled from the presence of the seneschal. But he was not to be kept off. So, with the sacred Host in his hands, he made his way to the seneschal. He threw him aside and used disrespectful language to him personally, and to the sacred Host which he carried. Before drawn from his presence; the bishop three times invoked the aid of the seneschal, and then with dignity retired. Nor was it merely from

the secular power that the bishop met with opposition. He had to defend himself from the charges of his ecclesiastical superior. Alice Kitley, condemned by the bishop, appealed to the Archbishop of Dublin. She said that she was condemned and excommunicated without being summoned. Alice relapsed, and though there were no grounds for a repeal of the sentence in such a case of heresy, yet the archbishop, instead of confirming the decision of the bishop, to his great expense committed the case to commissioners.

On the other hand, orders from the king were issued to the bishop for his appearance before the justiciary. He obeyed. Through desert places, amid difficulty and danger, he journeyed to meet the justiciary. On his arrival there the Parliament was sitting. In a few days the justiciary opened the case. He set out by pretending to read a letter from the king which confirmed some, not all of the liberties guaranteed by "Magna Charta," for in the course of his observations he said, "that if the worthless Bishop of Ossory should bring a bull from the Pope, we shall not obey it unless under the king's hand. You know better than I that Ireland never had heretics, but was an island of saints. This Englishman, however, calls us all heretics." The prelates present urged the Bishop of Ossory to reply, and defend the cause of religion. On rising, he established the power of the Pope to frame laws for the preservation of faith, as the king did for the good of the State. Afterwards he described the conduct of Power, and repudiated the charge of branding all as heretics; but as there was a traitor amongst the Apostles, it was not wonderful, though painful, that a bad nest should be in his diocese. As for himself, he feared neither threats nor death. Several interposed and recommended peace with Power for the

good of the Church. The Bishops of Ferns, of Kildare, of Emly, of Lismore, and the Vicar-General of Dublin were appointed arbitrators. The Bishop of Ossory alluded to the several matters of charge he had to advance, and touched on his own incarceration. Such an outrage to the episcopal dignity appeared incredible; but on his producing the warrant of arrest all were convinced and horrified. Then Power asked pardon. It was readily given. He and the bishop kissed in token of a reconciliation. The latter protested that if the offence to himself personally were ten times greater than it had been he could embrace the offender in charity, but that he could not give absolution; that his power did not extend to that; and that all he required from Power was that he would not favour heretics, but aid in enforcing the canons. The bishop required that as Alice Kitler had been already excommunicated for forty days,* and lived about Dublin, that she should be seized, that she should be summoned by the Dean of Dublin to appear in Ossory on a fixed day. She then promised to do so. However, Alice was not seized on, but allowed to flee from Dublin. Those in power are supposed to have connived at her escape, because while in Dublin the bishop procured a commission to see after heretics. The commission was acted on, and the mother of William Outlaw was made out guilty of heresy and witchcraft. But though the poor people were apprehended, Dame Kitler effected her escape. The bishop, with great difficulty and danger, made his way to Kilkenny. Those who lay in ambush to intercept the return of the bishop were defeated, and some were killed by his friends. Many of the survivors came to acknowledge their guilt, but at the

* After excommunication an amnesty of forty days was given; but by a statute of Kilkenny the time was reduced to a month.

same time said that Dame Kitler was the mother of all the mischief. Then the bishop wrote to the chancellor of the existence of heretics, and expressed a hope that they would be apprehended.* He wrote likewise to the Treasurer of Kilkenny, Walter Isteleppo, to the same purpose; but he especially wished for the apprehension of Alice Kitler, of her son, William Outlaw; of Robert of Bristol, a cleric; of John Galrussyn; of William Payn d'Boly; of Petronilla Midia; of her daughter, Sara; of Alice, wife of Henry Faber; of Annota Lange. of Ellena Galrussyn; of Syssok Galrussyn; and of Eve de Bronnestown. All belonged to the diocese of Ossory; but because William Outlaw, the relative of the chancellor and friend to the treasurer, was concerned, a warrant could not be got for their seizure. The most that could be obtained was that they should be seized by the seneschal Power till they satisfied the Church.

All the parties being summoned, William Outlaw, escorted by a large retinue, appeared fully armed. He was charged with a variety of crimes. The king's warrant was produced, and the guilty were ordered to be seized. Viscount John Rochford refused to act on the warrant. He said that the king gave one set of instructions publicly, but a different set in private; therefore he was at fault how to act. Walter Isteleppo maintained that the warrant should be carried out in every possible way consistent with the king's prerogative. In the meanwhile, William Outlaw, to the great scandal of the people, entertained the chancellor. Ultimately, after much trouble and delay, William appeared. He was condemned, and sent to prison. To the charge of abetting heretics he pleaded guilty, but denied the charge of heresy. Some influence was employed in his behalf. The penance imposed on him was that he should

* This letter was dated June 6th.

hear three Masses daily during a year; that he should feed a certain number of poor, and cover the chapel with lead. Owing to the pressing entreaties of powerful friends, on these conditions, till the day of trial came on, he was set at large through the city. Vast sums of money were offered to the bishop for his consent to the full discharge of the parties accused. His answer to such a proposal showed disinterestedness and firmness. He replied that were they to fill for him the cathedral with money he could not publicly or privately compromise the faith.

Moreover, hearing that William neglected his penance and entertained heretics, the bishop summoned him for trial. The trial came on, and his imprisonment was the consequence. William threw himself at the feet of the bishop and begged pardon; but willing as the bishop might be to pardon personal offence, he insisted that reparation should be done to God and religion for the outrages perpetrated. He denied it was competent with him to absolve from the excommunication.

The bishop addressed the chancellor, and charged him with allowing persons to escape. Such neglect, he said, gave him the more surprise as the chancellor was a religious bearing the cross on his dress, and on that account ought to be ready to do battle for the Lord. He warns him that if he offer any obstacle to the vindication of the faith, "that the keys of St. Peter will be shaken over his head, and that their sound will be heard, not only through England and Ireland, but even to the Grecian Sea." The Prior of Kilmainham stood forward in defence of the seneschal Power. The result was to implicate the prior in the suspicion of heresy, and expose him to accusation. The trial came on. There were present the prior, the Archbishop of Dublin, the ab-

bots, the mayors of Waterford, of Cork, of Drogheda, the sheriffs and knights of every shire.* The prior was acquitted, but the seneschal was condemned.† At last he was received to pardon on condition that he would go to the Holy Land, or if lawfully prevented from going, that the expenses of the journey should be laid out in pious uses; that he should procure a Mass perpetually in the Church of Our Lady for the interruption to the divine rights during the interdict; that as he exposed his bishop to the risk of martyrdom, so, too, he should visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket, and acknowledge his fault publicly; that he should abstain from meat every Tuesday till he performed the pilgrimage; and that, if he failed or sinned by word or act, his heir would be bound in a thousand pounds.‡ As a punishment, some had their garments marked with a cross; others were cudgelled. The seneschal was condemned, among other things, to cover with lead the chancel of the cathedral church of St. Canice, and the whole oratory and church of the Blessed Virgin from the belfry eastward. Others, among them Petronilla, were burned in the year 1324.§

In two years afterwards, Robert Duffe, because he denied the Incarnation and virginity of the Blessed

* Campion.

† The prior gave as security the fruits of Ballygarvan and Gal-moy for ten years to the Church of St. Canice, that William Outlaw would perform the penance imposed on him. At the same time the prior is mentioned as obliged to do penance. Perhaps it was for being surety to Outlaw, who, he guaranteed, would perform the penance within four years.—Clyn's *Annals*, Edited for I.A.S., p. 54.

‡ All these penances show no disposition to the religion of Luther.

§ *Camden Society* makes the death take place on St. Hilary's Day, the 14th of January. It is doubtful whether Dame Kitler was burned. Clyn, who was a contemporary, says she was condemned on a Monday, the festival of SS. Processus and Martinianus, that is on the 2nd of July; and that Petronilla was

Virgin Mary, was burned in Hogges Green. And within the next quarter of a century two men for offering contumely to the Blessed Virgin were said to have suffered death by burning at Bunratty, in Killaloe. The Bishop of Waterford was blamed for this act. It did not meet with the approval of the metropolitan. To mark his displeasure the Archbishop of Cashel, supported by the Dean of Waterford and the mayor, proceeded to the bishop's house, and seized his goods.*

These few cases of death on the score of religious opinion happened within a quarter of a century, from the year 1324 to 1353. They are the only instances which occur to me of religious persecution to death in the Irish Church. They took place to check opinions which were aimed at the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. They took place at a time when innovation in religious matters could not have caused less surprise and panic than if a thunderbolt had fallen at our feet.† During these proceedings

burned on the 3rd of November (the day after All Souls), though the *Camden Society* implies she was burned on the 14th of January. Clyn attributes the burning to the year 1324, Dowling's *Annals* refer it to 1322, and Campion, who allows Dame Kitler to escape, places the burning of Petronilla in the year 1321.

* Wadding, tom. iv., 53.

† Two of the cases happened within the Pale, and the other two without the sanction of the Church. A century before that a deacon was put to death in England for marrying a Jewess. And after the Reformation, or Revolution in the sixteenth century, the most shocking persecutions occurred on the most frivolous charges of witchcraft. In the year 1537, in Scotland, many scenes of the most revolting character occurred. They became still more numerous in the course of the sixteenth and following centuries. And not till the year 1737 was repealed that law by which such deeds were done. In 1726, occurred the last death. During one year alone, at Aberdeen, one man and twenty-three women were put to death. The blame of such shocking acts is not to rest exclusively on the ignorant and fanatic. They were sanctioned by the great legal lights of the day—Bacon, Selden,

against heresy the Archbishop of Dublin did not escape trouble; nor did the accuser, Ledred himself, Bishop of Ossory, escape the charge of heresy. The latter was brought to trial, and was imprisoned till after seventeen days' confinement he contrived to get free in 1329. He laid his case before the Pope, who remonstrated with the king. The result of the remonstrance was that the king ordered the temporalities to be restored; but yet the bishop for a considerable time did not return. Pope Benedict XII., fearing that in the absence of the bishop religion would suffer, especially as the king did not oppose the enemies of the bishop, wrote the following letter in 1334, which throws considerable light on the prevailing errors of the day:—"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of the true living God, who enlightens by his charity the hearts of the faithful, that they may acknowledge his greatness and believe in his power, in order to their salvation, and after exile be admitted to the kingdom of heavenly citizens, has detected in these days in your land in Ireland crafty wolves in sheep's clothing, and foxes going about and laying waste the vineyard of the Lord, wretched men scattering the thistle among the good seed, pestilent heretics who assume the mask of hypocrisy, but whose conversations are execrable. It has lately come to the knowledge of our Apostolic See, that while our venerable brother, Richard, Bishop of Ossory, was by ordinary right visiting his diocese, there appeared in the midst of the Catholic people

Sir Matthew Hales, Sir Henry More. Cranmer, in his visitation, 1549, inquires if any persons were guilty of witchcraft. In 1558, Bishop Jewell (Protestant), in a sermon, describes the increase of sorcery to such a degree, that persons faded away, the flesh rotted, and then wound up by praying that it may not reach from the subject to the queen. Even so late as 1751 blood was spilled, and death inflicted in England for witchcraft.

heretics and the abettors of heretics; some of whom asserted that Jesus Christ was a man-sinner, and had been justly punished. Others having done homage and sacrifice to demons thought otherwise of the Sacrament of the Body of Christ than the Catholic Church. They said that the adorable Sacrament was not to be worshipped; that they were not to be bound by the decrees, mandates, or apostolic decrees. In the meantime, they consulted demons, like the Gentiles and Pagans; they despised the sacraments of the Church; and by their superstitions drew the faithful of Christ after them. This pestilent heresy making its way among the congregation has infected some people. This moral plague by its venom has brought death to those whom it approached. This poisonous serpent has destroyed the souls of those infected by its pestilence. Wherefore, we understanding that neither in England nor Ireland are there inquisitors of heresy, and that heretical wickedness is not detected or punished by the regular officers of the inquisition; on this account, beloved son, the Church flies to the shield of your protection, by which the splendour of the orthodox faith is shed far and near, that you may as the champion of Christianity extirpate the heresies. We therefore require of your majesty, that in consideration of the reverence and honour due to the faith, and of that concern which should be manifested for the salvation of the people, you would without delay cause letters mandatory to be written to your justiciary as to your other ministers, that they may be obliged to give prompt assistance to the said Bishop of Ossory, and all other prelates of Ireland, in punishing and expelling the said heretics according to the canons of the Church. Thus, you will offer a holocaust of gratitude to the Eternal Majesty; exalt the Catholic faith; honour the Church; comply

with our request, exhortation and entreaties; raise even higher the dignity of thy name; and contribute to the safety, renown, and prosperity of thy reign.”*

The above appeal from the Pope freed not the bishop from trouble and persecution. Either because he intended returning to his diocese or actually had returned, writs were issued against him for contumaciously refusing to appear before the Archbishop of Dublin. But because the bishop appealed to the Pope, the writs were countermanded by the king. And because the archbishop was supposed to be favourable to the heretics, the Bishop of Ossory, in 1348, was exempted from his jurisdiction.† This,

* *Vat.*, Ep. 909. Brennan (*Eccles. Hist.*) confounds dates and events.

† Bull of exemption. “It beseemeth the prudence of the Roman Pontiff, when consulting for the interests of churches, prelates, and ecclesiastical persons, to relieve all those with fatherly solicitude who are oppressed; and to make such concessions as may tend with God’s help to the general tranquillity. Your petition has most truly set forth that whilst you at first having consulted us according to the canons, had proceeded against certain characters in your diocese of Ossory, the said heretics seized your person, and for seventeen days detained you ignominiously in chains and in prison. Afterwards, when liberated from prison, you appealed to us from our venerable brother, Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin, who inflicted many and grievous injuries on you, on your church, and on your subjects; and when you had set out for the purpose of proceeding to the Apostolic See in the prosecution of the appeal, the aforesaid archbishop despatched letters to all the seaports and all other places through which it was necessary for you to pass, doing what lay in his power to have you cast again into prison. Besides, when through fear of imprisonment you had to live in exile for nine years, your movable and immovable property was seized on, the said archbishop by fraud, extortion, and various devices annoyed and oppressed your church, clergy, and the laity who helped in putting down the heretics. And though we by our letters have commanded the said archbishop to be cited before us within a specified time, yet in the meantime you may fear that he will proceed with the greater severity against you, therefore we, anxious to protect your person and relieve the clergy and people from oppression, and in

however, did not bring repose to the bishop. About the year 1349 he was accused of insolence to the justiciary, and interference with the king's ministers in the discharge of duty. He was condemned, and his goods were seized. Nor did his persecution end here. A member of the Power family chanced to be killed by Thomas Fitzgilbert. The bishop was accused as an accomplice in the murder by the friends of the deceased. For full thirty years the life of Bishop Ledred was a continued persecution for justice sake.

Were it not for the spirit of innovation manifesting itself in other countries in the 14th* century, and for some indications of it in the previous century, one would be disposed to trace the evil to the civil war and sacrileges of the Bruces. In the year 1255, the Bishop of Raphoe states that some in his diocese had no horror of marrying relatives and kindred and adoring idols.†

Considering the interruption to the practices of

compliance with thy petition, do by apostolic authority and special power, exempt you, your church, and people, as long as you preside over the Church and the persecution continues, from all jurisdiction of the said archbishop, and hereby place you and your church under the immediate protection of the Apostolic See. We decree that every suspension, excommunication, and sentence which may issue to the contrary be null and void." From this bull it would appear that the bishop was in exile for nine years. It is certain that he left his diocese in 1329, and did not return before 1331. Because the king wrote, in 1329, and 1331 to the Pope, guarding him against the representations of the Bishop of Ossory. The other seven years of exile are to be fixed between 1331 and 1348. I am inclined to place them from 1339 to 1347. For he returned at the latter period with a bull of exemption. It is not unlikely that on the representation of the Pope a reconciliation with the king and the bishop took place in 1331, and that the latter returned, and that he was obliged to leave again in 1339. On a renewal of the persecution he fled the country again at the latter period.

* *Vid.* p. 177, vol. i.

† *Vid.* Theiner, ad. au. p. 220.

religion during the wars, one is less surprised to learn that Pope Benedict XII. had to write to the King of England, urging him to oppose heretics who appeared in Ireland. While the Bishop was visiting his diocese, some of those heretics asserted that Jesus Christ was a sinner, and justly crucified for his sins; others paid worship to the demon, and said that the Sacrament of the Body of Christ was not to be adored, and that we are not bound to obey the commands and apostolic decretals; and they finally consulted demons through pagan rites; that there being no office of the Requisition here, he recommended the king to commission the justiciary and others to help the bishop in crushing these heretics and their abettors.

One need not be surprised that individual acts of persecution for heresy appears. The coronation oath required that one "should swear in the name of the Pope and the Apostolic See to exterminate throughout the kingdom all heretics marked out by the Church to the uttermost of his power." The watchful eye of the Supreme Pontiff was kept on the flock and on pastors, for the preservation of the faith; hence, in 1347, the Pope commissions the Archbishop of Armagh to inquire into the conduct of the Archbishop of Dublin, as accused of favouring heresy and threatening the life of the Bishop of Ossory, and although under excommunication for twenty years, of discharging ecclesiastical functions.

On the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, Ossory was again subjected to the metropolitan see.* But though the Archbishop of Dublin did not give much help to his suffragan of Ossory in his difficulties, and did what would have had tendency to excite a

* On the appointment of the next archbishop to the see of Dublin, Clement VI. wrote to him to use vigilance against the heretics of his diocese.—*Regis. Pontif.*, vol. viii., An. Min.

suspicion of his own orthodoxy, yet withal his faith was sound. Not only so, but by his wise regulations he promoted morality and wholesome discipline. In a provincial synod, held in 1348 by the archbishop, were enacted many canons which give a lively and curious picture of the times. First of all the necessity of holding annual provincial synods was insisted on. From the laws passed, and the punishments denounced at the synod, we can infer that the people were not thoroughly reconciled to the tithe system. For those who obstructed clerics in gathering tithes subjected themselves to excommunication and the place in which they lived to an interdict. Then, too, were the rights of sanctuary upheld. It had been no uncommon practice lately to starve or drag from the sanctuary those who fled for refuge. Against such delinquents the heaviest censures were fulminated. Excommunicated were those who took from houses, manors, or granges the goods of ecclesiastics, as well as those who favoured the sacrilegious plunderers. As usual, the king and queen, with their children, were excepted from the censures. And though the general law strictly forbade religious from encroaching on the rights of seculars, there were complaints made on this score at the time. On that account the bishops ordained in council that each bishop should make a strict inquiry every year in the mother tongue about public sinners, and that the canons should be enforced against them. And in order thereto, the parish priests four times each year should denounce them before the congregation. The power of the penitentiary to give absolution was restricted. It was to be denied to conspirators, perjurers, corrupt judges influenced by a motive of injuring another, and to those who indicted or suborned the indictment of clerics. Of course, even

to these absolution may be imparted at the hour of death, or at any time by leave of the diocesan, got in writing. A condition, however, was put to absolution at the point of death. The penitents, on recovery, were obliged to present themselves before the diocesan for absolution. The absolution from homicide, public or occult, was also reserved to the bishop.* The general Canon Law which inhibited

* Notwithstanding the difficulty of communication with Rome, the faculties granted to Irish bishops were less extensive than at present. The following catalogue is taken from a manuscript in the fifteenth century. The cases reserved to the Pope are expressed in the following inelegant hexameters, without the recommendation of correct prosody :

“Incestum faciens, deflorans, aut homicida
 Sacrilegus, patris percussor, vel sodomita
 Pontificem, quæras Papamsi miseris ignem
 Si percussisti clerum, Simonis fuisti
 Et si falsisti Bullam, Papæ simul ibis”

Those reserved to a bishop ran thus :

“Si quæ suffocat partum, et negligit, secat,
 Si pater aut mater violenter læditur, aut si
 Quis brutali nefas facit, aut in proditionem
 Qui proprium dominum perimit, vel in Ecclesia
 Sacra lædit graviter, vel qui mæchatur in illa
 Qui matrem, cognatum polluit, atqui sororem
 Præsulis arbitrio licet, occulte subeant hi”

In reference to the foregoing, it is observed that the parish priest can absolve from every case to which an excommunication is not attached. If affected by an excommunication or irregularity the case needed the absolution of a pope or bishop.

The following cases were reserved :

“Non scelus enorme solvas sine Papa
 Sacrilegus, cleri percussor sive parentum
 Occisor fratris, puerorum, vel mulierum
 Ecclesiæ sanctæ violator, in igne vel ense
 Aut habetur coitu duplex incestus, aut omnis adulter,
 Plenius ut doceam junguntur et his hominiculæ
 Perjurus domini, in corpore, crismate turpe
 Quis faciens ista, pœnas ineat graviore
 Tales vel similes Romam vadant, nisi sexus
 Obstet fœmineus, aut debilis, aut senis ætas
 Tunc dispensentur a consiliis seniorum
 Puniat ecclesia, plus occulto manifestum
 Dictos, qui possunt sine Papa solvere solvant
 Quidam majorum solvant hos clave suorum.”

Even for a dispensation in the fourth degree of relationship,

religious from binding the faithful by oath or promise to choose a burial-place in their monastery, which forbade them to give the sacraments of marriage or the eucharist or extreme unction without leave of the rector, was confirmed in the provincial council.

Nothing, however, gives us such a clear insight into the confusion of the fourteenth century as the facility with which benefices were acquired or for-

recourse had to be had to the Pope.—Fleming's *Regis.* T.C.D. Iar. Connaught, app. 217.

I take the following list of reserved cases and the Glossary from Archbishop Octavian's Register, T.C.D., vol. ii. p. 680 :

“Officium (1), varium foris, appellatio (2), crimen (3), (4) Peccans, (5) non parens, (6) res, (7) consultatio, (8) deses; Præsul, (9) canonici timidi, (10) sententia iniqua, (11) Visitat, (12) indulget, (13) custos, (14) quia Papa det, (15) usus, (16) Permutat, sociis suspectus, causam que remittat, (17) Casibus, his primus subditis, præsules arcat.”

Then follow the glossary and references to the Rubrics of the Decretals, Sext, and Clementines as given in “Corpus Juris Canonici.”

(1) “Officium.” The bishop cannot change the offices of the province, but must conform, unless there be long and legitimate custom for him. (2) “Appellatio.” The archbishop or primate can be appealed to. (3) “Crimen.” When a bishop accuses a priest in a matter of a criminal nature and cannot adduce witnesses, the metropolitan can be judge. (4) “Peccans” is when the subject of a suffragan sins in the archdiocese, then he can be tried there. (5) “Non Parens” is when a person is unjustly condemned by the bishop, and the archbishop orders him to absolve; and on refusal himself has power over the accused. (6) “Res” is when the thing which the subject of the bishop holds is within the archdiocese, the archbishop can legislate on it. (7) “Consultatio” is when the suffragan refers a matter to the council of the archbishop. (8) “Deses Præsul” is when the bishop fails to do justice to the subjects, then the jurisdiction was transferred to the archbishop; if it be by negligence, the bishop must get a warning; otherwise he need not. (9) “Canonici timidi” is when one was elected through great influence and to the contempt of the bishop. (10) “Sententia iniqua” is when the sentence is evidently unjust. (11) “Visitat” is that he has the power of visiting his suffragans and must be received; or that he sends a procurator, and if he be refused hospitality, that it can be insisted

feited. Therefore did the synod apply itself to the abuse. It was a common thing, during the absence of an ecclesiastic, that another would start a claim to the undefended benefice. Either the death of the absent was put forward, or some other plea to gain possession of a living. From carelessness, or dishonesty, or too confiding a spirit, persons high in office were found to affix their signatures to a settlement which could not be supported by fact. On that account archdeacons, deacons, choir officials, or the bishops' officials were forbidden, under severe penalties, to attach their names or seals to any instrument brought to them by those who were strangers; otherwise they were to forfeit their benefice for three years; and those who advocated or abetted the matter were both excommunicated and rendered unfit for office during a period of three years. No matter

on; and that he who refused it can be deprived during visitation. (12) "Indulget" is that he can give an indulgence through the provinces. (13) "Custos" is that during a vacancy he can take charge of the diocese, if the canons were unfit or suspected. (14) "Papa det" is that beyond these the Pope gives jurisdiction over subjects. (15) "Usus" is that law and custom do give, especially to the Archbishop of Armagh, from time immemorial, the right of issuing prohibitory definitive letters to abbots and rectors without consulting the bishop. (16) "Permutat" is when the bishop wishes to exchange with the chapter, he must consult the superior. (17) "Causam que remittat" is when the bishop remits the case to the archbishop without consultation and allows the archbishop to sit in his diocese. The archbishop has powers in all these cases legislated on in a provincial council or that affect the province, and even in reference to the subjects of the suffragan, so as to receive a commission if appealed to. But though the matter was brought before the archbishop but not in the way of appeal, he cannot act unless with the consent of the ordinary, or compel a party to give testimony or make an appeal unless warranted by custom. The archbishop can absolve an excommunicated subject of the suffragan if he appealed to Rome—pending the appeal—when the sentence is notoriously unjust he can annul the sentence.

how certainly the death of the incumbent might have been established, yet no inquiry about the benefice without due formality could be made. It was necessary previously that in public chapter the absent should have been summoned, and such time be allowed for his appearance as in the estimation of all might be deemed sufficient.

The respectability of the clerical character was consulted for. Such as had taken holy orders were forbidden the office of bailiff, or seneschal, or other secular occupations without leave from the diocesan. Not only to laics, but even to ecclesiastics indiscriminately, was the decision of matrimonial cases denied. Even rural deans, unless proven discreet men, were forbidden to touch them. And as it happened that oblations were often misappropriated, it was ordained that whatever was received in chapels assigned to certain churches and intended for the parochial church, should be restored to the rector or to the vicar under pain of suspension. Every attention was paid to the real interests of the religious. To prevent distraction no religious was allowed, without the consent of the superior, to become an executor. Whoever became such was bound under anathema to render an account of his management to the diocesan.

Though from the earliest centuries by the Irish canons a portion of the goods of the deceased was set aside for the priest, yet there had been some difficulty in carrying out the precise regulation of the synod of Cashel in the twelfth century in reference to the subject. Hence the fathers of the provincial council in the fourteenth century endeavoured to confirm and enforce the statutes of the Cashel Synod by censures. Whoever prevented the making of a will, or interfered with the carrying out of its provisions, subjected himself to excommunication. Then, too, the interests

of ecclesiastical immunity were guarded. Should any person annoy a bishop or cleric by dragging him before a secular tribunal for issuing suspension or interdict incurred on account of crimes which belonged to the ecclesiastical tribunal, or compel an ecclesiastic to exercise an office in violation of law, or to the lowering of his dignity, or carry on secular business, or execute decrees in churches, cemeteries, or grounds attached to the church, or defame another maliciously and falsely for crimes not known to parties previously, and to which was attached death or banishment totally or partially, or should any person disturb the king's peace, or seize the goods of ecclesiastics, or stir up others to do so—incurred *ipso facto* excommunication. But whilst ecclesiastical immunity was so jealously guarded, a condition to its enjoyment required a modestly becoming tonsure in honour of Him who carried a crown of thorns. The wearing the tonsure in presence of the bishop was strongly insisted on.

As no layman was allowed to marry unless he proved his singleness, so no cleric was permitted to celebrate before he put his ordination beyond question. The sale of a spiritual office was forbidden. Christian burial or the sacraments may not be denied to one who happened to contract debt. To ensure discrimination in the election of rural deans on the contingency of their not accounting for synodals and perquisites to the bishop, the electors were obliged to supply the deficiencies. The last of twenty-two useful and interesting canons referred to ecclesiastical questors. It was framed to meet the prevalent abuses. It alludes to the disingenuous practices—pious frauds—resorted to by the questors in appealing to the charity of the faithful. On such grounds it required that no one should “quest” without the

sanction either of his bishop or of the bishop of the place where he begged. Furthermore the canon required that the appeal of the questors be confined to the decretal sayings in the words of the Apostle, "We shall stand before the judgment-seat of Christ," and "we ought to sow seed of everlasting fruit and guard against the day of judgment; for he who sows sparingly shall reap sparingly, whoever sows in benediction shall receive it and everlasting life." Whoever, then, allowed questors to propose any other than these motives to the charity of the people incurred suspension from ministrations for a year. At the same time the disobedient questors incurred the sentence of excommunication; and after the expiration of forty days under that sentence they were seized and imprisoned.

When one, then, thinks of the necessity which existed of enforcing by censures the payment of tithes, ecclesiastical immunity, and the portion of the goods of the deceased to clergymen even in the province of Dublin, it is easy to imagine what a nullity had become those decrees of Cashel, for which Ireland had been doomed to the horrors of invasion. The fathers of the provincial council wound up by recommending that in every week, unless during Lent, in honour of St. Patrick, there should be a solemn commemoration of him on some vacant feria* with a full choir through the province; that his festival be celebrated as a double; † that the festivals of the five patron saints of the cathedral churches be doubles in

* Feria was any day in the week except Sunday.

† The double office was more important than the semi-double. The principal difference was that the latter had a greater number of commemorations, and required only the first words of an antiphon to a psalm to be entoned at the beginning; whereas the former required the antiphon in full to be entoned. The character of the music, too, was affected by the nature of the office.

choir; that on these festivals the people should abstain from rural works, meditate on the life of Christ and virtues of the saints; that the festival of St. Laurence be a double, and that of the 11,000 virgins; that the translation of St. Patrick be celebrated with nine lessons; and that where a proper office is found, a copy of it should be sent to each diocese.*

We saw that the exclusion of Irish ecclesiastics from livings was not merely understood but legislated on. In pursuance of this policy, Edward II., in 1324, sent the Bishop of Cork as delegate to Rome. While doing so the king expressed a wish to learn the will of the Pope, not through the delegate but through the Archbishop of Cashel. However, to lead the Pope, he stated it not only as his opinion but as that of the archbishops, that it would be well to excommunicate the disturbers of the public peace, to annex the poorer bishoprics to the principal ones; that no see not worth £40, or £60, or £20 should remain independent; and that English subjects should be professed in Irish as well as in English monasteries. Than the last proposal, nothing more showed his wrongheadedness and one-sided sense of justice. By the statutes of Kilkenny the Irish could not be received into English houses. The king insisted that the Irish should receive unworthy English subjects into their communities. Men who were full of self—creatures of the state—could not be got to accept poor bishoprics. To remove the objection then, the monarch beseeches the Pope to make them worthy the acceptance of his English hirelings. John XXII. issues a bull for the union of Cork and Cloyne. On the strength of the bull a movement to

* Wilkin's *Councils*, vol. vii. 746 and seq.

that object was made in 1330 ; but the original bull could not be found. Nothing, therefore, came of it. And as the Bishop of Cork lived in the year 1377, and as the Bishop of Cloyne, an Englishman, who applied for the union, was degraded in 1377, no union of the two dioceses for a long time after the first attempt at it took place. But, to leave no doubt of the disposition of the monarch to the Irish Church, only look to his policy in reference to the dioceses of Tuam, Enaghdone, and of Achonry. Enaghdone and Achonry were poor indeed ; so poor that O'Connor, in urging an appointment to the latter, said it was not worth more than twenty marks ; and the former, in its most prosperous state, was contemplated in the Synod of Kells to be united to Tuam.* And, in point of fact, Edward I., as far as in him lay, did unite them. But Edward II. insisted that there was an union only of the temporalities by his father, who had no desire to interfere with the rights of other sees ; and then, giving out the real motive of his conduct, said that, as Tuam was among the Irish and Enaghdone among the English, an union of both was impossible.† Nor was the policy of Edward III. different. He granted all the waste lands to the prelates, to be held by themselves and successors for ever—notwithstanding the law of mortmain‡—provided they caused them to be inhabited by those not friendly to the Irish. I should have noticed that the

* Enaghdone was united to Tuam. This was the effect of an arrangement between the Pope and the Bishop of Cork. And when, in 1330, the archbishop took possession of Enaghdone, the king was dissatisfied.

† *Liber Mun.*—Rymer.

‡ The reader will be good enough to bear in mind my remarks on the mortmain law in a former chapter in opposition to the views of Mr. Finlason.

Bishop of Enaghdune was chosen without license from the king. In other circumstances he would have kept the see vacant or prevent the temporalities from being received during months for a violation of etiquette. This violation he now overlooks in order to keep the Irish from the benefit of English law.* In pursuance of the instructions with which the king contrived to have his delegate, the Bishop of Cork, furnished from Rome, a council of the archbishops, some bishops, and the nobility decreed that every bishopric not worth £40, especially amongst the Irish, should be suppressed.†

But while the English monarch was using all pains to make the Irish and their clergy outcasts on their native soil, while he showed such a disregard of religion, they did not tamely submit. The Irish communities required from postulants an oath that they were not English. The Irish endeavoured feebly to imitate the exclusive spirit of the Anglo-Irish, and rose in rebellion. The people turned their anger not only against the Anglo-Norman laics, but even against the ecclesiastics. Better, perhaps, than a thousand facts in proof of the maddened excitement of the people is the treacherous light in which they viewed the English priest. The Irish have been proverbially attached and reverential in their bearing to the clergy. They were so in the days of Gerald

* Rymer, ad an. 1320.

† Amongst others, instructions were given by the Pope that the sees of Enaghdune, Kilmacduagh, and Achonry should be united to Tuam. The council did not carry out these instructions. In 1325 there was a royal mandate for the union of the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. In 1326, John XXII. ordained that, on the death of either bishop, the survivor should enjoy both sees; and that, though the election should take place in the principal cathedral, the canons of both cathedrals should concur in the election.—Rymer, ad an. 1324.

Barry. They were so in the sixteenth century in the days of *Campion*.* God be thanked, they are so to-day. We will not be prepared, then, to hear that the Irish of Leinster rushed from the mountains on an English congregation while assisting at Mass; and, while assisting at the tremendous sacrifice, the congregation with the priest was put to death.† In the year 1336, Master Howell of Bath, Archbishop of Ossory, Andrew Avenal, and Adam de Bath, while defending their churches, were slain by O'Brying. The Conacians pursue the English, who take refuge in the church of Kilkenny, and burned it with its fourteen churches.‡ A principal reason put forward by the Anglo-Irish bishops for the remission by the Pope of a sum of money given to him at their consecration, was that they had been laid under a tribute by the Irish.§ The Irish people felt themselves ground to the earth, brought to that point when suffering was unbearable. But though they were pretty generally in arms in the year 1338, yet there was no apparent concert.|| Even the Anglo-Irish felt dissatisfied. For Edward recalled all the privileges of marriage and wardship, and all the debts which were looked on as pardoned. However, because a strong opposition was offered by the Earl of Desmond, the king abated his claims. His attack, powerless against the barons, was directed against the Church. He assessed a tax, and so rigorously exacted it that all whose benefices were above six marks in value had been mulcted.¶ And yet so jealous was he of the Pope's authority, that he forbade any person taking benefices on the strength of Pope

* *Campion*, p. 26.§ *Rymer*.† *Clyn's Annals*.|| *Campion*.‡ *Dowling*, ad an. 1362.¶ *Rymer*.

Clement's (VI.) provision.* He called a Parliament at Kilkenny. There two shillings in the pound were levied on ecclesiastical property. Property under £6 was not rated. Some were obsequious. The clergy of Meath, of Louth, the prebendaries of Dublin, St. Patrick's, the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, the clergy of Ossory, those of Ferns, and the Abbot of Baltinglass contributed.† But the Archbishop of Cashel objected to any such contribution. He pleaded the great charter granted to the Irish Church; and, standing behind that charter, not only refused any aid, but excommunicated all who either paid or received the ecclesiastical tribute. He declared them incapable, and their descendants to the third generation, of holding benefices. The king's commissioner, William Epworth, was by name excommunicated. The archbishop summoned his suffragans, the Bishops of Limerick, of Emly, and of Lismore. They met to deliberate on what steps should be taken to oppose the king. They were prosecuted, found guilty, and punished.‡

Hitherto there has been a systematic effort to fill the Irish churches and prebends with English subjects, not for the good of the people, but from the same motive which brought the invaders first to our shores—from the most selfish purposes. At the same

* By the Canon Law Pope Clement could and did bestow many livings of the Irish Church by "Provision." The provision consisted in a determination on the part of the Pope to confer a certain living even before an election had taken place on the man of his choice.

† Those parts of Ireland subject to the English were called the Pale. It comprised, in 1330, Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Leix. These were five palatinates. The king's writ did run not in these but in the cross-lands.

‡ Leland.

time it may naturally be supposed that there might have been a disposition to instruct the people. But there had been a stern resolve to keep the Irish priests and people away from the Pale, and keep the English colonists encamped in thorough isolation from their neighbours. To recruit the failing population among the Anglo-Irish, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, brought over 1,500 persons from England. He turned away from the Irish and forbade them his presence. In 1356, Rokeby surpassed by his amiable disposition all his predecessors. His laws were deemed satisfactory by many. He abolished the distinction between the English by birth and English by descent. He was a model: he was in advance of his age, but at the same time even *he* could never be induced to grant preferment in the Church even to a denizened Irishman within the Pale.*

Exclusion from all places of trust and emolument, and the infliction of physical suffering did not give so much scandal as the primate in his contest with the mendicant orders. They had indeed rendered invaluable services to the Church. They supplied a great if not the greatest number of our sees with bishops during this and the next century. Animated by the spirit of their founder, like most orders in their infancy, they laboured with zeal and success, and passed through life without reproach. However, it would appear that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, some of them threw aside the religious habit to the great scandal of the faithful. Orders were sent to the justiciary to have them apprehended and restrained to strict discipline.† Besides, it is not improbable that at this time the primate and the friars entertained opposite views on the rights of sepulture and the perquisites from it.‡ That spirit

* Champion.

† Rymer.

‡ Harris, p. 82.

of disinterestedness which characterized the orders originally was subsequently weakened. However, the apologists of the friars say that they incurred the resentment of the primate by defending some church-furniture which he coveted, and sought to take from their convent.* Irritated at their opposition he denied their privileges and exemptions. For doing so he thought the present a favourable opportunity: because a cry was raised against them in England.

Even so early as the year 1340, and ever since, there had been a jealous controversy between the University of Oxford and the religious orders. At the present time it was at its height; Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, threw himself into the contest. He put forward his *Defensorium Curatorium*, or defence of the secular priests. His propositions gave scandal, and drew a refutation from his adversaries.

Fitz-Ralph was descended, at least on one side, from a wealthy and powerful Anglo-Norman family, some of whom settled in Ireland in the thirteenth century.† Richard Fitz-Ralph, or as he was more commonly called, Richard of Dundalk, from the place of his birth, though born in Ireland, received his education at Oxford. He was a man of great talent and vast erudition. Such proficiency did he make in his studies, that without much difficulty he attained the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and became Chancellor of the University of Paris in the year 1333. His fame was so well known to King Edward III., that he promoted him to the deanery of Chester, and subsequently to that of Lichfield. Fitz-Ralph appeared at a time when a strong feeling had set in against the religious orders in England;

* Wadding.

† *Vid.* MS. Life, T.C.D. (3 E, 14); and for a very exhaustive biography, the *Ir. Eccl. Rec.*, July No., 1865.

and educated under one who was strongly opposed to their privileges.* The atmosphere of the university and the teaching of his professors warped his judgment, and biassed the feelings of Fitz-Ralph against the religious orders. This bias, however, was not enormously developed at once, so as to prevent his promotion to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh. His fame spread beyond England; and so favourably known did he become to Clement VI., that he was consecrated successor to St. Patrick on the 8th July, 1347. The Bishop of Exeter, John Grandison, assisted by three others, performed the rite of consecration.†

Before long his prejudices against the religious orders developed themselves, and these were said to have been intensified by a domestic quarrel with the guardian of the Franciscans in regard to some church property. He preached against their rights and privileges in Drogheda, Trim, Dundalk, through the province, and even in England. He frequently preached before the Roman Court at Avignon. His sermons fill a large volume, which is much taken up with discourses on the virtues, feasts, and prerogatives of the Virgin—her conception and assumption. His principal work was on *The Questions of the Armenians*. In his preface he says that he divides it into nineteen books. The first book refutes the heresy of the Nestorians, and establishes the Divinity of Christ. The second proves against the Jews that Christ, the Messiah promised in Scripture, ought to be God. The third proves that our Christ is the same as He promised to the Jews. In the fourth book he answers the Jewish objections raised against the matter in the second and third books. In the

* Harris' *Ware*, p. 82.

† Wadding, *An. Minor.* tom. iv., p. 62.

fifth he refutes the heresy of Arius, of Apollinaris, of the Manichæans, and of Dioscorus. In the sixth he proves the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. In the seventh he proves the Roman Church to be the head of the Universal Christian Church. In the eighth he solves the difficulties against the matter and form of baptism. The ninth treats of the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, of Confirmation and Extreme Unction. The tenth treats of the illicit means of conferring, acquiring, and delivering the gratuitous gifts of God and preferments in the Church, and as to the necessity of God's grace as a title to dominion. The eleventh treats of the power of a simple* priest to absolve, and of the punishment of the souls of the damned before the day of judgment. The twelfth treats of the beatitude of the souls of some saints, and of the purgatory of others before the general judgment. The thirteenth establishes the existence of purgatory, and treats of the satisfaction to be paid in this life and the next for sins committed. The fourteenth treats of the clear, full vision of God which the blessed enjoy. The fifteenth treats of objections against the Divine Scriptures, from the fact of future contingent things being foretold, and their interfering with human liberty. The sixteenth solves the objections arising out of the infallibility of Scripture, the immutable presence of God, and the efficacious, invincible will of God, as opposed to human liberty and the contingency of future events. The seventeenth reconciles the co-operation of God with the will of man. The eighteenth proves the authority of the Old and New Testament. The nineteenth compares our law as regards the sacraments and cere-

* By a simple priest theologians understand a priest simply ordained, without any jurisdiction from bishops.

monies with the Jewish law, treats of the miracles of the apostles, and insists that our dispensation has more force than natural reason or any other code with the Gentiles.

Fitz-Ralph was a man of undoubted talent and eloquence. He frequently preached before the Roman Court at Avignon. His sermons, which form a large volume, treat of the Blessed Virgin, of her virtues, her feasts, her prerogatives.

But the Friars did not quietly look on an attack on their existence, while Robert Conoe* solidly answered the objections of the archbishop. Complaints were made against him by the Dominicans, Eremites of St. Augustine, and Carmelites. Their receiving alms for the burial service was objected to by the archbishop.

The guardians of Armagh and priors of the Dominicans impugned his orthodoxy, and had him formally cited, in 1357, before Innocent VI., at Avignon, then the residence of the Popes. For three years the dispute was carried on between the archbishop and the religious orders. He aimed not at the extinction or curtailment, he said, of any religious order, but wished to recall them to the purity of their institute and conformity with the poverty of Christ. To avoid falling under the condemnation of John de Poliacco, he questioned not their radical power to hear confessions, but grounded their incompetency to do so on the decrees of Lateran. In the meantime, the Pope decreed that the usual rights and privileges of the

* Robert Conway, or Conoe, an Irish Franciscan, wrote a book in reply to him; and though Du Pin thinks the reply yields to the archbishop's writings in eloquence or solidity, yet I prefer the opinion of Benedict IV., who admits the solid refutation of the archbishop by the Franciscan.—Du Pin, *Writers of the 14th Century*; Bened. IV., *De Canon. Sanct.*, App.; *Defensio Religionis Mendicantium.*

orders should be untouched, and by-and-by, though not then, several decisions had been given against the archbishop and his abettors. Fitz-Ralph never returned to his see. He died on the 16th of November, in the year 1360, and his death, if not the Pope's decision, put an end to a controversy that raged furiously for more than a hundred years. His remains were translated from Avignon by Stephen de Valle, Bishop of Meath, in 1370.

Archbishop Fitz-Ralph was remarkable for learning, zeal, and sanctity. Miracles were reported as worked through his intercession or relics. Pope Boniface IX., commissioned John Cotton, Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Young, Bishop of Bangor, and the Abbot of Osney, to inquire and report on the alleged miracles. But as nothing more was heard of the matter we are to presume that their answers did not warrant any other proceeding in furtherance of his canonisation.* He was one of the few who, after broaching and publicly defending heretical doctrines, had been talked of as worthy the honour of canonisation, and one of the fewer still so treated, whose heresy was an attack against the religious orders.†

His writings in print and manuscript fill many volumes. He was an eloquent and indefatigable

* Fourteen questions had to be answered in reference to his life and miracles.—*Vid.* Ben. XIV., *De serv. Dei Canon. et beatif.*, &c., App. i., p. 308. He issued an *interlocutorium* without prejudice to either party.—*Vid.* Natal. Alex, *Disser.* 4, n. 4, ad *sæc.*, 13 and 14.

† "I have in the diocese of Armagh 2,000 subjects, who by reason of the sentence of excommunication launched against wilful homicides, public robbers, incendiaries, and others such have become involved in sentence of excommunication, out of whom there are scarcely fourteen in the year who have come to me or my penitentiary, all of whom receive sacraments, and are spoken of as absolved by none others than the Friars."—*Defensorium Curarum*, T.C.D. (Parisiis, 1635).

preacher. He wrote many works with a view to the union of the Oriental Churches with Rome. His knowledge of Scripture and scholastic theology was profound. But what is of most concern to us is his writings against the religious orders. He advanced nine propositions. "1st. That our Lord Jesus Christ was very poor in human state; not that He loved or willed poverty for its own sake. 2nd. That our Lord Jesus Christ never begged voluntarily. 3rd. That He never taught men to beg voluntarily. 4th. That our Lord taught men not to beg. 5th. That no person can with prudence or holiness oblige himself to perpetual begging. 6th. That the friars minors by their vows are not obliged to beg. 7th. That the bull of Alexander IV., which condemns the book of the masters, does not invalidate any of the aforesaid conclusions. 8th. That for persons making confessions their own church was preferable to the oratories of the friars, without, however, excluding them. 9th. That for making confession it is better to go to the priest than the friar." In the year 1358 the Pope, making special mention of Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, condemned the nine propositions. But the decision of the Pope did not end the controversy; it lasted after the archbishop's death. The secular priests kept the matter alive, till in 1401 a bull directed by Pope Boniface IX. to the bishops of Kildare, of Cashel, and of Dublin set the question at rest.*

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 64.—The extravagance of the archbishop's positions may have been occasioned by the bold encroachments of the friars. Because in later times there had been a complaint from the bishops that parochial churches were emptied by the large if not questionable indulgences held out in the convent chapel; and that the confessionals of seculars were deserted owing to the indiscriminate enrolment of the people in masses, in the third orders of the friars. Many who through life neglected not only the

Before dismissing this subject it may be well to consider whether Fitz-Ralph was cardinal, as has been even lately asserted. A late number of a living periodical claims the authority of the Roman Consistory in support of the statement, and "as decisive of all controversy."* The Consistory is by no means committed to such a statement; and I have no hesitation in asserting that Fitz-Ralph was never raised to the cardinalial dignity. In the first place, Onuphrius Panvinus, and Alphonsus Ciaconius, in the catalogue of cardinals made out, never allude to Fitz-Ralph. Therefore, we are to presume that there was no Irish cardinal unless we make out these writers to have been badly informed, or contradicted by a still higher authority. Yet that cannot be. Besides, we learn from documents in the Roman archives, that in speaking of Fitz-Ralph even as late as 1358, the Pope invariably speaks of him, not as cardinal, but as Archbishop of Armagh. And this is the more remarkable as other persons, cardinals, are mentioned by the Pope with the fullest respect for their dignity in connexion with the trial of Fitz-Ralph. Now then as evidently he was not cardinal in 1358, and died in 1360, it is unlikely that he obtained from His Holiness the highest dignity in his power to confer during the two years he was charged with heresy, and for which he was kept in Avignon from his widowed diocese; for he died in Avignon. What, then, is put against such clear evidence? The simple unreliable assertion of Raphael Volterra. Raphael Volterra, an Italian, as his surname indicates, lived to-

counsels, but the broad commandments of God, were decked out in death in the full dress of one of the orders.—*Vid. Hib. Dom.*, p. 64, and App. to the O'Renehan MSS.

* *I. E. Record*, No. 1, p. 16, in article written by P. F. M., on the diocese of Ardagh.

wards the end of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth, century. It cannot be a matter of surprise, then, that writing on Irish affairs he committed a mistake in reference to matters which occurred more than a century previously. But let us see how far the Roman Consistory vouches for the statement that Fitz-Ralph was cardinal. On the vacancy of the diocese of Ardagh, Henry VIII. wrote to Pope Leo X. in favour of Dr. O'Malone. The letter was dated from Greenwich, July 26th, 1517; and because without commentary it upsets false theories in regard to the constant authority of the Popes to fill vacant bishoprics, and to the alleged supremacy of the English monarchs, I give it a literal translation: "Most Holy Father, I most humbly commend myself to you, and devoutly kiss the feet of your Holiness. I have learned that the cathedral church of Ardagh, in our dominion in Ireland, yielding a scanty revenue, is vacant by the death of its late bishop, William, our reverend father in Christ. A venerable, modest, honest, circumspect, and very learned man was recommended to us just as we were anxious to see it filled. He is Master Roger O'Malone, canon of the cathedral church of Clonmacnoise. We think him a fit and proper person to rule the Church of Ardagh. Therefore we recommend him to your Holiness in the hope that you will *deign* to appoint the said Master Roger Bishop of Ardagh. We hope the appointment will be as much for the good of the Church as it will be pleasing to us. May Almighty God grant your Holiness long life." Well, His Holiness commissioned an inquiry to be made into the state of the Church of Ardagh, and into the qualities of Roderick O'Malone. Three witnesses on oath furnished several items of information. They were probably Irish. First of all they stated, "that Ardagh

was subject to the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland,* and that Ireland, if you except what is nearest to England, was in a barbarous state of culture, and that its houses were made of wood or straw. A considerable portion of the inhabitants live with their herds in the open plain or in caves, and are given to robbery. The island is adorned by the holy bishops, Malachy, Cataldus, and Patrick, who converted the Irish to the faith, and afterwards became Bishop of Scotland; as also by William Ocham, of the Order of Minors,* a most celebrated dialectician, and by the Cardinal of Armagh, who, in 1353, acquired renown by his learning and many writings." Now, if witnesses called on to speak of the condition of the Church of Ardagh, and the fitness of Dr. O'Malone, ventured into some historical flourishes, who can say the Roman Consistory vouches for their accuracy? To be sure all that had been said in connexion with the candidate for Ardagh had been taken down, but as a good deal of it had been beside the question who could think of making the Roman Consistory sponsor for it? Does the Consistory pledge itself that the habitations of the Irish are huts of straw, and that themselves were robbers? Does the Consistory vouch for the statement that St. Patrick was Bishop of Scotland? Could the Roman Consistory be supposed to maintain as certain what is not at all certain—that Ocham was an Irishman? Occam, or Occham, or Ockham, the prince of Nominalists, was named as most great men of the middle ages, from the place of his birth in the county of Surrey, in England. Luke Wadding, whose leaning should be to claim him as Irish if possible, makes

* If the Roman Consistory be responsible for such evidence, it contradicts what the learned De Burgo states, that the Armagh bishops were *self-styled* primates.

him out as an Englishman. In this opinion he is followed by Harris and Ware. But even supposing for a moment that the other statements of the witnesses in reference to the see of Ardagh to be correct, and thus to leave undamaged their testimony regarding Fitz-Ralph, what is that testimony worth? Absolutely nothing. It is not independent; it only repeats the veriest words of Raphael Volterra.* “Ireland was made illustrious by William Ocham, of the Order of Minors, a celebrated dialectician, and by Fitz-Ralph, Cardinal of Armagh, who, in 1353, acquired renown as well by his learning as by his many writings.” Furthermore the learned Wadding denies Fitz-Ralph to have been cardinal.† Nothing can be more untrue than to state that the Roman Consistory *decides the controversy*. So far from doing so, that an authorized monthly publication from the press of the “Propaganda,” alluding to the consistorial acts in reference to the appointment of our late illustrious, zealous, and learned cardinal in June,‡ states that he was “the first Irish cardinal at least since the Anglican schism.”

In getting through the period assigned to this

* *Commentaria Urbana*, lib. 3.

† Tom. 4, p. 62.

‡ *Acta ex iis decerpta quæ apud sanctum sedem geruntur*, &c., June, 1866. Emus. Paulus Cullen, Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis et Hiberniæ Primas, primus est qui splendore Cardinalitiæ dignitatis saltem ab exorto schismate Anglicano, electam illam Catholicæ ecclesiæ insulam, illustrare meritus est. Eam inquam insulam quæ penes antiquos *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum* est appellata, quæque in sævissima persecutione Catholici nominis sub Cromwell et Puritanis, adeo fidei firmitate excelleret ut pro distinctis epochis triplici insigni nomine merito doceretur: est enim insula Sanctorum, Doctorum et Martyrum. Magnificent testimony to the learning, sanctity, and heroism of the Irish! Thomas Jorse, brother to the Archbishops of Armagh, Walter and Roland, was Cardinal at St. Sabina; but never set foot in Ireland as cardinal.

chapter, in order to form a perfect image of some objects, we viewed them to the exclusion of others. It were to form a wrong picture however on the whole not to bring before the minds all the objects which may serve to give variety and contrast. In the deeds of violence and oppression in the wars of nations and races, aggravated by religious prejudices, acts were done which one could not but regret, and which some of the actors surely must have regretted. Over the dark field, however, gleams of sunshine pass. There are spots on which one can dwell with poetic pleasure. The work of demolition went on; but from the wonderful sap in the Catholic Church, and the peculiar leaning of the Irish to monastic life, many magnificent religious houses overspread the land. There may have been deeds done for fatherland which reason or humanity could not defend; but on the subsidence of passion religion maintained its ascendancy. We see it exemplified in the Lord of Brefney, in the heir to all Ulster, in the Lord of Moylurg—all of whom took the monastic habit.* How characteristic of the nation—of high supernatural views—when death was seizing its victims in thousands, to see the people acknowledge in it the chastening hand of God for their sins, and to witness the penitential pilgrimages gone through at Thabit in order to propitiate the anger of God, from whom only they expected comfort.† Amid their own many troubles, their strong faith and large charity found room for sympathy for the sufferings of the devout pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre, and yearned to rescue it from the pollution of the infidel. What a subject for a picture to see them register

* O'Reilly joined the Franciscans in 1330; M'Dermot of Moylurg in 1331.—*An. Four Mast.*

† Thabit was in county Carlow.

their vows, grouped around the cross in Kilkenny, and marking their flesh with a red hot iron that they may the more sensibly feel themselves pledged to succour and "not to forget Jerusalem!" They worked for future generations. In their endowments they remembered their fathers who in the "rude hamlet slept."* They went about doing good to all with whom they came in contact. In the year 1350, says Campion, Kenwicke Shereman, a benefactor to all within twenty miles of Dublin, died. Not to speak of the charities he gave while living he left 3,000 marks to the poor. "And then," adds Campion, "with such plenty were our fathers blessed, who cheerfully gave of their true winnings to needful purposes! Whereas in our time one gaineth *avariciously* and whineth at every farthing spent on the poor, and yet we are oppressed with scarcity and beggary."

The fourteenth century produced many and eminent writers in the Irish Church. Foremost amongst these may be mentioned the great John Dun Scotus, "the Subtle Doctor." To give an idea of the various literary works of which he was author would require a special chapter. Such has been the celebrity acquired by him that English and Scotch have claimed him respectively as their fellow-countryman. Scotus was born in the year 1274, in the county Down. John Dun Scotus, who was known as the *Subtle Doctor*, gave early proof of extraordinary genius. He joined the Order of Franciscans. The superior of his order, learning the vast talent with which Scotus was endowed, directed him to proceed to the University of Oxford. Here the fame of his

* William Fitz-John, Bishop of Ossory in 1312, binds himself to support four priests who were to live collegiately in the Church of Kilkenny for the repose of the souls of Edmund Botiler, Joan, his wife, and their son.—*An. in Camden Society*, Clyn, p. 14, note.

virtues and learning attracted crowds round his chair. In the thirtieth year of his age he was ordered to proceed to the University of Paris. Here, too, his high reputation for sanctity and learning was maintained. He was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Sorbonne, and appointed a Regius Professor. He so strongly defended the Thesis of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Mother of God against all adversaries, that faith in and devotion to it increased amongst the faithful, till, finally, in our own time, it became a defined article of faith. By orders of his general, he went to Cologne in the interests of science and religion in the year 1308; and in the same year, in the height of his renown and full of graces, died at the early age of thirty-four years. His writings are very voluminous. He wrote commentaries on the four books of *Sentences*; *Reportata Parisiensium*, in 14 books; 23 Conferences, 4 other Physico-Theological Conferences, 21 Quæstiones Quodlibetarum; on *The First Principle of Things*; a book on *Theoremata*; a book on the knowledge of God; on some *Tetragrammata*; sermons on festivals and saints; *The Imperfect Commentaries* on Genesis, the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. Paul; some questions on Porphyry, on the *Predicamenta* of Aristotle, *Perihermenia*, *Priora*, *Posteriora*, *Elenchos de Anima*; on *Metaphysics* and *Physics*.*

Robert Waldby was Archbishop of Dublin from the year 1391 to 1397. It would appear he was eminent for his knowledge of physic and divinity. He wrote on *The Sentences* in four books, *Ordinary Questions*, *Miscellaneous Quodlibets*, against *The Wickliffites*, and a course of sermons for the year.†

* *Vid.* Ware's *Writers*; but before him read Wadding's *Life of Scotus*.

† Bayle, cent. 6, n. 28—Ware's *Writers*. See his Epitaph in Ware, book ii., ch 3.

John de Swaffham, born in Norwich, became subsequently Bishop of Cloyne. He was the author of writings against *The Wickliffites*, and of a book of sermons. He died about 1398.*

Richard Northal, Archbishop of Dublin, wrote a *Book of Sermons*, and, amongst other things, a work styled *To the Priests of Parish Churches*.†

A Franciscan, named Malachy, was author of two works—one was styled *The Poison and Cure of Mortal Sin*, the other was a book of Sermons. He lived for some time at Oxford, Paris, and Naples.‡

Maurice Ghibellan, canon of Tuam, was a famous philosopher and poet. His poetic genius was exercised on sacred subjects. He died in the year 1327.§

About 1330 flourished a very distinguished Irish Franciscan, Adam Godham. He studied in Oxford, and acquired the degree of Doctor of Divinity there. He was the author of *Commentaries on the Four Books of Sentences*, and of *Determinations*. He is quoted frequently, and with great respect, by foreign authors.||

David O'Bugey, a Carmelite, famous for his learning, was born in Kildare. His works were rather numerous. To him are attributed *Discourses to the Clergy*, thirty-two *Letters to several Persons*, *Propositions Discussed*, *Lectures at Treves*, *Rules of Law*, *Commentaries on the Bible*. He held several chapters in Athirdee and Dublin, and, having lived to an advanced age, was buried in a convent of his own Order in Kildare.¶

Malachy MacAda, Archbishop of Tuam, was the author of a series of the Irish kings from Nial of the Nine Hostages to Roderick O'Connor. He also, with other matters, published a prophecy of the successors in the See of Tuam, attributed to St. Jarlath.**

* Leland; Ware's *Writers*.

† Ware.

‡ *Anth. Possev., Appar. Sac.*—Bayle, Cent. 14, n. 91.—Ware.

§ Ware.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

** *Ibid.*

Gilbert Urgale, a Carmelite father, was a very respectable writer. He studied at Oxford. His chief works are two volumes: one a *Summary of Law*, the other *On Divinity*. Bayle judges him to be called from Uriele, in the north of Ireland.*

The author of the *Annals of Ross* lived in this century. He brings them down to the year 1346.†

Christopher Pembridge, the author of those annals, published afterwards by Camden, lived in this century. He brought them down to the year 1347.

In this century lived, too, the well-known annalist of the Franciscan Order, John Clynn. He lived in Kilkenny. His annals come down to the year 1349, when, probably, pen in hand, he died of the plague. Besides the *Annals*, he wrote on *English Kings* from Hengist to Edward III. He was also author of *The Guardians of his Order*, and of a *Catalogue of the Sees* in England, Ireland, and Scotland.‡

Ralph Kelly, Archbishop of Cashel, who lived in the fourteenth century, was author of a treatise on Canon Law and of some Epistles.§

Father Hugh Bernard, Provincial of the Franciscans in Ireland, was the author of *Travels through different Countries*.||

William of Drogheda, so called from the place of his birth, was educated at Oxford. He was eminent for his knowledge of law, arithmetic, and geometry. He was the author of the *Golden Summary*.¶

Geoffrey O'Hogan, a Nenagh Franciscan, wrote the annals of his own time, which extended from the year 1336 to 1370.**

In this century lived Henry Crump, a Cistercian friar of Baltinglass. He studied and acquired the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. He was

* Cent. xiv., n. 93.

† Ware.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Ware.

|| *Ann. Min.*, tom. 5, ad an. 1359, n. 10.

¶ Bayle, cen. 6, cap. 9.

** Ware.

remarkable rather for subtlety than any depth of learning. His writings consisted chiefly of an attack on the religious orders, which he had to retract. He indulged in some unsound subtleties speaking of the Blessed Eucharist, but was unmasked by the worthy Dominican, William Andrew, Bishop of Achonry.*

William Waterford, a celebrated Franciscan, was a man of much learning. He studied at Oxford, and became Doctor of Divinity. He was the author of a book of religion.†

In this century, too, flourished MacCraith MacGawan. He was Canon of St. Ruadan's Abbey, in Lorrha, Tipperary. He was the author of *Genealogies of the Irish Saints*, and of the *Succession of Kings and Lords of Ireland*. He lived about the close of the century.‡

Thomas Jorse, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote a *Promptuary of Dwinity, On Sins in General*, also *Divers Questions*.

John de Bloxam of Oxford, who was a Carmelite, became Vicar-General of his Order in Ireland, and held a provincial chapter in Ardee, in Louth. He wrote on the *Books of Sentences*, on the *Apocalypse*, Letters to the number of one hundred and eighty-six, book of Sermons, and the Statutes of the Chapter in Ardee.§

William Powell, Bishop of Meath, wrote on four books of Sentences, *Divinity Decrees*, on *The Perfection of the Understanding*, on *Actual Knowledge*, on *Formal Truth*, on *Ens Rationis*, on *Ordinary Questions*, and a book of Sermons. He died in 1349.||

Richard Ledred, who was Bishop of Ossory from

* Cent. 14, n. 98.—Ware.

† *An. Min.*, tom. 1, ad an. 1240, n. 25, and tom. 4, ad an. 1295.

‡ Ware. § Bayle, Cent.—Ware. || Ware's Writers.

1317 till 1360, composed several hymns to be sung in reference to the Nativity of our Lord and other festivals. He also wrote several letters to Popes John XXII., Benedict XII., and Clement VI. Synodal constitutions were published by him.*

Adam Godham, Doctor of Divinity, was pronounced not inferior to the Prince of Nominalists, the "Invincible" Ocham.† Maurice Gibellan, Canon of Tuam, found leisure for the composition of elegant poems. Law and divinity received an admirable development from Gilbert of Louth, a Carmelite friar.‡ The Series of Irish Christian Kings from Nial to O'Connor was completed by M'Æda, Archbishop of Tuam. At this time, too, were completed the famous Annals of Pembroke and Clyn.§

While glancing at those works whose authors are known, I must not pass over in silence those other literary remains which have come down to us under the general name of the *Leabhar Breac*. From that vast|| and miscellaneous repertory of ecclesiastical

* Wadding, *An. Min.*, tom. 3 and 4.

† Ware's Writers. John Major.

‡ Ware's Writers. Bale's Writers.

§ John Clyn was a Franciscan in Kilkenny. His description of the dread mortality in 1348 is most graphic and touching.

|| The following piece, while free from the usual intricacies of Irish metre, breathes the simplicity and love of St. Francis, or Fra Angelico. "Deus meus adjuva me; tuc dam do sherc a mac mo dé; tuc dam do sherc a mac mo dé. Deus meus adjuva me; In meum cor ut sanum sit; tuc dam a rí rán do grad co gribb; tuc arí rán do grad co gribb; in meum cor ut sanum sit.

"Domine da quod peto a de; tuc tuc codian agrian glan gle; tuc tuc co dian agrian glangle. Domine daquod petto a de; hanc spero re meam; agus quæro quod do sherc dam sund, do sherc dam tall; hanc spero re meam agus quæro tuum amorem servis; tuc dam co tren atber do ris (quod) tuc dam co tren atber doris; tuum amorem servis.

"Quero, postulo, peto até; mo beith anim a mac dil de; mo beith anim a mac dil dé; quero postulo, peto a te; Domine, Domine, exaudi me; manimm roplan dotgrad a dé; manimm

matter I beg to direct attention to selections from moral discourses.

The writer, in introducing his subject, tells us that this festival was called the day of the Theophany, or "Apparition of God"—or rather he gives it under the heading of the "Epiphany of our Lord." Though in another branch of the discourse the Epiphany is styled the big Christmas, and the feast of the star called the little Christmas, there is no doubt that the Epiphany mentioned in the sermon means our Epiphany, or Twelfth Day. Because the writer does not fail to inform us, on the authority of John Cassian, that the Egyptians held the festival of our Lord's birth and apparition to the Magi on the same day, i.e., the 6th of January.*

We take, as instance of the practical manner in which religious subjects were handled, the concluding portion of a sermon on the Epiphany. The writer, after showing an acquaintance with the Hebrew root of some words, as Jerusalem and Bethlehem, remarks that we are really in a "house of bread," or Bethlehem, when in the church, where we receive as our bread the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Then having spoken of the gifts offered by the Magi, the homily is thus continued! "*He offers gold to God, who excels in wisdom. Since they truly offer*

roplan dotgrad a dé; Deus meus adjuva me; Deus meus adjuva me."—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 101.

"The Gædhlic text of the *Leabhar Breac* would make about 2,500 pages of the *Annals of the Four Masters*."—O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, &c. p. 190."

* That the writer in the *Leabhar Breac* properly represents the opinion of Cassian appears from the following reference: Epiphainiorum diem provinciæ illius sacerdotes vel dominici Baptismi, vel secundum carnem Nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque Sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie ut in deciduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant."—Cassian, *Collat.* 10, cap. 2.

gold to God, who shine by their wisdom and instruction, as the Holy Scriptures teach, 'Wine and music delight the heart of man,' &c., the love of wisdom is as water. Much as music and feasting charm the soul of man, heavenly wisdom delights still more.

"*He offers incense to the Lord*, who offers up pure prayer, as it is said truly that those offer incense to the Lord who direct their prayers with clean hearts to God, as the Prophet says: 'Let my prayer be directed as incense in thy sight, O Lord.' Such prayers go directly to God as the holy incense offered up to Him. *Myrrh he offers* who mortifies the vices of the flesh. Truly does he offer myrrh to God who mortifies the gross desires of the body by abstinence, as the apostle says: 'Mortify your members which are on earth.'

"The wise men came to adore Christ with various gifts, and in different degrees of age—the young came, the middle-aged, the old. Their conduct show us how in every age we should honour God with the various excellent gifts bestowed on us, that is, by good thoughts, and words, and deeds. *They returned by another way to their own country.* They serve as an example to the faithful to renounce all love of the world under the jurisdiction of satan, and follow directly the will of God, which is only another name for Christ, as Himself teaches us: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." He is truly the way by whom we must go to the Father in the heavenly kingdom. He is the truth, and every imaginable good must flow from Him on the faithful. He is surely the life of the saints in their heavenly dwellings, without age, or end, or failure. This is the moral sense of this lesson. This day, then, is venerable in the church of heaven and earth, because many and wonderful things happened on this day of the *Theophany*,

that is, of the Apparition of the Lord's Star.* On to-day the star led the inquiring Magi to Christ; to-day our Lord Jesus Christ was baptized in the river Jordan; † to-day all the fountains were consecrated; to-day the Holy Ghost, under the appearance of a dove, descended on Christ; to-day, with five loaves, He satisfied 5,000 men; to-day He changed water into wine at Cana in Galilee; and on to-day the same Lord Jesus Christ appeared to the Magi and Gentiles. He shall appear on the judgment day to them and sinners; to them with glory, to the impious for punishment. Then the gathering of sinners shall be pushed into exterior darkness, where there

* Dr. Reeves (on *Culdees*, p. 204, note) is fanciful in suggesting that *notlaic stella* may be translated "Christmas of the fragment," and derived from the custom of breaking twelfth cake on that day. The Latin word *stella* was used as often as the Celtic word *redlu*. Thus in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 198, col. 2, we have: "Uair ro fhacaib in *redlu* iat &c." Then some twelve lines under this we have not *redlu*, but *stella*, "din is aingel de nime roar traig isin delbsin *stellæ*." And in the next line we have: "Ces-naignt aughtair do met agus ardi agus etrocta *stellæ*." Hence, beyond question it may be stated that *νοστος ρελλæ* must mean "the Star Christmas."—See vol. i., p. 184.

† How very much this resembles the antiphon for the *Magnificat* for the second vespers on the festival of the Epiphany: "Tribus miraculis ornatum diem sanctum colimus; hodie stella Magos duxit ad præsepium; hodie vinum ex aqua factum est ad nuptias; hodie in Jordane a Johanne Christus baptizari voluit ut salvaret nos Alleluia."—P. 204, note, *L. Breac*.

While the Catholic Church of to-day is only a reflexion of, or rather identical with, that of the middle ages, so the teaching of the middle ages is only an echo of the teaching of the Primitive Church. Thus Pope Gregory, *Hom. 10 in Evangel.*, comments on the gifts of the wise men: "Quamvis in auro thure, et myrrha intelligi et aliud potest. Auro namque sapientia designatur. . . . Thure autem quod Deo incenditur virtus orationis exprimitur, Psalmista attestante qui dicit; Dirigatur Domine oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo. Per myrrham vero carnis nostræ mortificatio figuratur."

Again: "Ergo stella hæc via est, et via Christus; quia secundum incarnationis mysterium Christus est stella."—*Homilia Sti. Ambrosii Lib. 2, in Luc.*, cap. 2, post initium.

shall be everlasting hunger and thirst, everlasting cold and heat, horrid darkness, the faces of demons, the voice of tormentors. But others shall go into life everlasting, where there is youth without old age, life without death, where shall be Christ with the Patriarchs, with the martyrs, with the virgins. In the unity, which is beyond every, the greatest unity, in the unity of the Blessed Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, &c."*

In thus concluding a portion of a long homily, as in every other portion of it, we find the absence of any aim at intellectual excellence. The feelings are appealed to in a practical, touching way, and, while the literal translation of the sacred text is given, a nice sense of spiritual symbolism is displayed.

Another instance of the deep view into spiritual things, and at the same time of a practical nature, may be seen in the commentary on the Lord's Prayer. Thus coming to the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, the writer says, "*Give us this day our daily bread.*" By this we understand all those things necessary for the sustenance of life. This daily sufficiency includes everything necessary for the support of life here below; or by the "daily bread" we may understand the sacrament of the Body of Christ which we daily receive. By the daily support, then, we may understand the great mystery of the Body and Blood, which the faithful eat and drink respectively from the dish of the Lord, that is the holy altar. Hence our Redeemer says: "Unless you eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man you shall not have life in you;" or finally, we may understand by the daily bread the spiritual strength and grace which the children of God receive, to observe His commandments and instructions. "Give us this day," we ask for bread, not in the name of

* See App. KK.

sin or ignorance, but in the light of day, in the light of faith, of knowledge, and of the sun of justice, which is Christ."

Having explained each of the seven petitions in a like strain he proceeds to dwell on the dignity of the prayer. "This prayer was prefigured by the ladder seen in sleep by Jacob in Bethel with its seven steps reaching from earth to heaven, and so it is by the ladder of prayer that the faithful ascend to heaven. This prayer, with its seven petitions, was prefigured by the trumpets sounded by the priests round the seven walls of Jericho; so, too, the walls of the evil spirit are battered down by the seven petitions. This prayer is the iron mallet by which the power of hell is crushed; this is the prayer made by Christ Himself; this is the Christian's prayer; this is the mystical prayer; this is the prayer of prayers; these seven petitions are symbolized by the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; these are prefigured by the seven days of the celebration of the Pasch, by the seven weeks intervening between Pasch and Pentecost. These seven petitions have reference to the seven principal vices—pride, lust, avarice, jealousy, gluttony, and sadness, anger and sloth. . . . Prayer is of great use. Its utility appears from the Old and New Testament. Moses gave battle to the Amalecite, not with the sword, but with prayer. The efficacy of prayer was seen in Ezechias when, with his people, he was besieged, and thousands of the enemy slain. By prayer the same Ezechias added fifteen years to the length of his natural life. By prayer Anna brought forth a son—the Prophet Samuel. It was by the prayer 'be merciful to me, a sinner,' that the publican went home justified. Pray without ceasing. He who prays frequently shall renounce earthly desires and yearn for the

Eternal, and desires to see in heaven the Sun of Justice, which he cannot see on earth. Let us raise our eyes, then, to heaven if we really desire to inhabit the land of the living. If we tend to our Lord here, with all the affection of heart, we shall attain to heavenly joys, where there shall be an everlasting feast, secure rest, and peace in union with the noble, the martyrs, and apostles of our Lord; in union with the saintly men and women, and heavenly martyrs; in union with the most exalted, and most blessed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," &c.*

In treating of the writers of the fifteenth century one is struck at the proof which they afford of the completeness of their body of Catholic doctrines and practices.

The *Yellow Book of the Ferguses*† and the *Leabhar Breac*, written about the end of the fourteenth century,‡ incidentally give us a clear insight into the religious habits of thought and action in the mediæval Irish Church.

The *Leabhar Breac*, while showing a perfect knowledge of Scripture, displays no less acquaintance with the fathers, the lives of saints, and ecclesiastical history. In it and in the *Yellow Book of the Ferguses* are allusions to, and proofs of, as well the seven Sacraments, of the sacrifice of the Mass, as of the

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 250.

† A part of it was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. For a list of the subjects treated of in the *Liber Flavus Fergusorum*, see O'Curry's *MSS. Materials of Irish History*, App. No. xli.

‡ The mention of the anniversary of the jubilee every fiftieth year, in commemoration of the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, shows that this portion of the *Leabhar Breac* was written after the year 1352, as it was in that year the recurrence of the jubilee was reduced from 100 years to 50 by Clement VI. — *Id. Leabhar Breac*, p. 54, col. 2.

colour of the vestments therein to be used, of prayers for the dead, of the intercession of saints in Heaven, of the excellence of chastity, of the necessity of alms-deeds and works of charity, of the utility of the sign of the Cross, particularly before and after meals, of the usefulness of pilgrimages, as of the great fruits derivable from acts of corporal mortification and fasting. In reference to the last virtue, its spiritual wholesomeness was not only strongly inculcated, but its obligation was strictly enforced. Besides the several days of abstinence on each week, there were three Lents, as they were called—the Winter Lent (Advent), the Spring Lent, and the Summer Lent.

The great or Spring Lent began in ancient times, according to the *Leabhar Breac*, on the 7th of the Ides of January, and, in imitation of our Saviour's fast, continued till the 12th of the Kalends of March. The time was subsequently changed,* in order that our fast should be *at the time of the sufferings of Christ*, and in order that at the end of our fast "we should be prepared to approach the Body and Blood of Christ on Easter Sunday."†

During Lent no meat was allowed, and though it had been usual to relax the severity of the fast on Sunday, yet even on that day one, if disposed to follow the practices of the hermits of the desert, was

* This change took place at the Council of Nice.—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 48, col. 1.

† "Conbuo iporbu nar dne .i. himesonocht na carc." Here we see that *midnight* is paraphrased by *the end of Lent*. The Easter was celebrated at break of day (*Leabhar Breac*, p. 168, col. 2, l. 10), and on that account was called the midnight Mass, or office. It were well if Dr. O'Donovan had noticed this reference when translating the rules of the *Ceile Oe*, edited by Rev. Dr. Reeves for the R. I. A.

Vid. Leabhar Breac, p. 259, col. 1, and p. 47, col. 1.

See also vol. i., p. 142.

not prohibited from so doing. No food was to be taken from noon to noon, and not only so, but even lawful pleasures were to be denied oneself.

If, as has been remarked by master minds, true eloquence consists in the number of facts well adduced in favour of the truth inculcated, surely the writer in the *Leabhar Breac*, in inculcating fasting, reaches the point of real eloquence. And after enforcing the utility of the virtue by examples, some of which I subjoin, the writer pronounces him happy who observes the fast in a proper manner.*

“It is by food that Esau lost his birthright, and sold it to his brother; through fasting the noble prophet acquired a victory, and was rescued from the lions’ den; through fasting Moses, the son of Amri, received the written law; through it the people of God were rescued from the Amalecites; through fasting the people of Ninive were saved; through fasting Elias wrought such miracles on earth; through it David did penance, so as to have his sins forgiven; through it the people of Juda saved Jerusalem in the time of Ezechias, King of Juda, from the Assyrians, so that over 175,000 were destroyed; through it Peter was loosed from prison; Cornelius, the Centurion, received the Holy Ghost before baptism, and Paul vouchsafed revelations through prayer and alms and the fruit of fasting; through fasting the people of God came through the Red Sea with dry feet; through it Moses merited the love of God; through it the manna was got from heaven in the desert for ten years; through it Moses received the written law face to face with God; through it Moses was fifty

* *mongenair von chach vorge co coir inaine ar ir neach iniarbaise.*—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 248, col. 2.

days and nights without food on Mount Sinai; through it Moses acquired victory over the Amalecites; through it the Jordan opened a passage for the people of God; through it Jesse, the son of Nun, conquered the seven districts of Canaan and tumbled Jericho; through it Jonas was saved in the whale's belly; through it the youths in the fiery furnace were preserved unhurt; through it Nebuchodonosor was freed from the visitation with which he had been afflicted; through it fifteen years were added to the life of Ezechias; through it the sun went back in its course for him; through it people are preserved from the power of the evil one, by having Christ remain fifty days and nights without food for the children of Adam; through it one is directed to the road to heaven, and God's grace is increased; through it, when properly observed, there is an increase of love and charity, and the wonders that are wrought in the world and all the plagues staved off from man and cattle, all are the result of fasting."*

* *Vid. Leabhar Breac*, pp. 258-59. *Vid. App. LL.*

CHAPTER XX.

JUST as it was the practice to fill the Irish sees and livings with Englishmen even before any legislation had taken place on the matter, so before the present there had been a disposition for a considerable time to keep the Irish and English asunder. The delusive notion vanished, if ever entertained, that the sole single aim of the English had been to impart to the Irish Church its own tone, its morality, and discipline, and to the Irish people the benefit of its laws. Masters of the line of coast generally, and of the principal towns, about the year 1330, the English struggled to keep possession of their acquisitions, if not to extend the limits of the Pale. Those within the Pale were strongly forbidden to hold communication with those outside. On this matter such jealousy had been entertained that, lest the least sympathy might exist between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish, thoroughly English colonists were imported by the Duke of Clarence. English laws were denied even to such of the Irish as lived amongst the English.* Whatever was to become of the Irish Church and the reformation of the people, there had been manifested an unsocial unfraternising spirit by the English rulers; and though this spirit had been encouraged to some degree, yet to the present year it had not the same solemn sanction of a legislative assembly. In 1367, a council was held. In this some laws were enacted which have passed under the

* Leland, B. II., ch. 2.

name of the famous Kilkenny statutes. Besides the Chief Minister of State, there were present the Archbishops of Tuam, and of Cashel, and of Dublin; the Bishops of Lismore, of Waterford, of Killaloe, of Ossory, of Leighlin, and of Cloyne, together with the temporal peers. After speaking of the marriages of English with Irish as too common, all such marriages for the future were declared illegal by the council. Fosterage, gossipred* were also strictly forbidden. Whoever may be found transgressing those statutes was to be found guilty of treason. The ninth clause ordained that when the archbishop or bishop excommunicated at the request of the king, the excommunication, when come to the knowledge of the king's officers, should be observed by them. Even before this, in the year 1309, in the third of Edward II., the excommunication ran in the names of the bishop, the justiciary, and of the nobles. The excommunication then was of a politico-religious character.†

The fourteenth clause in the Kilkenny statutes decreed that no prelate, without the sealed sanction of his lord, should receive a villein to holy orders.‡

* There was not, and perhaps is not, a nation which attached so much importance to the ties of gossiped as the Irish. Whoever was deemed likely to be influenced by such a tie might, as a matter of course, be objected to as a juror. The impediment of spiritual relationship from baptism was not set aside at the Council of Trent on account of the representation of Irish bishops. They stated that the influence of such as were connected by gossiped was more powerful in reconciling those at enmity than what arose from the nearest ties of blood.—*Vid. Conc. Trid.*

† The civil arm was not invoked for enforcing excommunication till forty days after its fulmination. Thus, in January 18th, 1227, the king writes to his justiciary to the effect "that as some of the canons of Louth were excommunicated by the Archbishop of Armagh, and having refused to submit, and thus persisted forty days in their contumacy," &c.—*Sweetman's Calendar of Papers, &c., note.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

If anyone used the Irish language, dress, or name, he by the said statutes forfeited his lands, and if he had no lands, he was, till he gave sufficient security, to be imprisoned. The Brehon or Irish laws were forbidden. Whoever submitted to Irish jurisdiction was declared guilty of treason. The bishops denounced excommunication against those who allowed the Irish cattle to graze on their lands, or Irish ecclesiastics to get into benefices, and against those who listened to bards or story-tellers. Some exceptions were made in favour of some cherished few in regard to the admission to benefices. Thus, in 1385, leave was given to Richard, Abbot of Knock, near Louth, to enjoy the abbey. Why? Because his ancestors were English, and favourable to the Crown. A like exception was made in favour of William, Prior of the House of the B.V.M., in Louth, because his possessions had been possessed by the Irish. John O'Kery, too, received a like favour, merely because his ancestors had been English.* So stringently was the law enforced, that though parts of the archdiocese of Dublin required a knowledge of the Irish language in the ecclesiastic, and none were who understood it, yet till a decree of Parliament in 1485 made it safe for him, the Archbishop of Dublin dare not, unless at peril of his life, send an Irish priest to the natives.† It is painful to think of the state of the people against whom these statutes were enacted. Contrary to the privilege of their order, the clergy had to appear in England, and for the purpose of taxing themselves.‡ Two clergymen

* Hardiman's *Pat. Rolls*, Rich. II.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The Prior of St. John Baptist was exempted from coming to the marches or sending hobelers, on account of services to the king and to the poor. This shows, if any proof were necessary, that services to the State were required of monastic bodies.—Archdall.

represented each diocese. They were proctors. In going they protested that it was not to grant money. They pleaded ecclesiastical immunities. Still more strongly did they plead their poverty. They went, as they wished it to be understood, only to give advice.

The diocese of Dublin sent John Fitz-Ellis and Thomas Athelard; Cashel sent John Giffard and the Rector of Kilmainham, saving the rights of the Church. The Bishop of Meath promised to pay 100 marks for his diocese to avoid sending a representative. However, saving the rights of the Church, he sent Bartholomew Dollard. The Bishop of Kildare promised to send representatives, not to give money, but to tender advice. The Bishop of Leighlin sent Richard White and William White, but at the same time they assured the king that they could not promise any money, because exclusive of what was possessed by the Irish, there were not fourteen carucates of cultivated land in their diocese, and one-tenth of that was not sufficient for their support.* The Bishop of Ossory sent John De Acres.† The dioceses of Waterford and Lismore were represented by their bishops and by Philip Baye. The Bishop

* A barony contained 30 ballybetaghs, or 120 quarters. Each quarter 120 acres. Some identify a carucate with a ploughland; others give eight carucates to a ploughland. Gerald Barry says that a cantred contained 100 townes, so that there was no fixed standard for the size, nor, according to Ware, was there a fixed measure for a ploughland, for it was generally meant what would give employment to a plough through the year. Monck Mason, quoting Gerald Barry, says that each cantred contained thirty-two townlands, and each townland eight carucates.—O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, pp. 24.25; Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturgus*, p. 19, col. 2, 4, 51; *An. Four Mast.*, ad. an. 1186.

† The Bishop of Ossory was appointed representative of the Kilkenny barons, but they were obliged to substitute for him William Cotterell.

of Ferns sent William of St. John, dean, and Richard Whitty. The Bishop of Limerick sent John Fox and John Route. The Bishop of Cork sent Thomas Rice and John White. In the absence of the bishop, the Vicar-General of Cloyne sent a Thomas Prior and John Sandy. The Bishop of Kerry sent Master Gilbert and John Fitz-John. Whether money was promised or not by the representatives, at all events, after the Council of Kilkenny, £2,000 were voted, and not long after an additional sum of £1,000 for the wants of the nation was voted.*

Having stated all that can be said by the enemy of the Catholic Church against the conduct of the prelates who gave the sanction of their authority to the Anglo-Irish enactments at Kilkenny, it is only fair to see what can be advanced in defence.

Every lover of peace and of the Irish Church must regret the necessity of the legislation at the famous Council of Kilkenny. Besides a number of laics there attended at the council Thomas Mynot, Archbishop of Dublin; Thomas O'Carrol, Archbishop of Cashel; John O'Grada, Archbishop of Tuam; Thomas le Reve, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; Thomas O'Cormacan,† Bishop of Killaloe; John de Swafham, Bishop of Cloyne; John Young, Bishop of Leighlin; and William or John of Ossory. The statutes passed at this council, or at least some of them, were sanctioned by the eight Irish bishops who attended. And because these owed their promotion to the Pope, he must have sanctioned according to some Protestant historians the proceedings of

* This was a vast sum, if we consider that the revenue of Ireland at this time did not exceed £10,000.—Gordon's *Ireland*.

† I have reason for stating that it is through mistake Thomas O'Hogan is mentioned for O'Cormacan, by the Essays published by Right Rev. Dr. M'Carthy for Rev. Dr. M. Kelly (p. 128).

the bishops.* This indeed would be a very illogical conclusion. Because some recreant ecclesiastic, promoted by the Pope, embraced the Lutheran heresy, did therefore the Pope sanction it? Certainly not. Nor can we agree with those who view the legislation at Kilkenny in a purely religious light.† It would be too much to style it a matter of a religious-political character. True, it received the sanction of excommunication; but that censure is launched for a violation of a mere civil contract. Full two hundred years had gone by since the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, and all efforts made to amalgamate them with the natives proved abortive during that period. Neither element was sufficiently preponderating to absorb the other; nor did the properties of rule and tyranny in the one bear such an affinity to subjection and suffering in the other as to bring about an assimilation of both. Both met in order to repel each other with greater violence. This went on for two hundred years. What then was to be done? Evidently to keep asunder those who could not meet without a violation of charity. The limits were clearly defined for both races; and it was strongly insisted on that each should keep within the prescribed bounds. The only objection to be made to the arrangement by which bishops took a part, arises from the exclusion of those of merit from any preferment in the Church of the other. Yet was it not as if one kingdom excluded from its benefices the ecclesiastics of another? Such had been done by the English monarchs in excluding from any prebend those whom the Pope wished to reward. It has been done, and not met with a word of censure from those who loudly inveigh

* Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick* (p. 235).

† Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 236; *Essays*, cited above (p. 125).

against the Irish bishops. The bishops then thought it prudent to keep the churches—Irish and Anglo-Irish—distinct. In doing so they imitated the conduct of the generals of religious orders, who for the same wise reason, cut up Ireland into two *provinces*, though not too large for one. Well, then, if there were despair of working the religious materials into harmony, what hope could there have been of amalgamating more repelling elements? Besides, the Kilkenny statutes were not enacted under the mask of religion, as implied or expressed by writers whom I have referred to before, but ostensibly and really for civil results. Hence, bishops when asked to explain or defend conduct which did not appear to be prompted by sublime faith or burning zeal, replied that they acted, not as bishops, but as temporal lords. This answer at once gives us a clue to their policy. And the matter is made still clearer when we consider that the Irish peer was not allowed to be escorted by a servant to parliament lest he might betray secrets of state to the enemy.

One of the statutes decidedly was very salutary. It prohibited the waging war against the Irish without the order of State. Each palatine, whether under the influence of passion or caprice, did not hesitate making raids into the border country. It was of daily occurrence; and the necessary result was a total insecurity of life and property, and a stop to all improvements.

Unless the statutes were essentially objectionable, it was the province of the prelates to give them effect as much as was consistent with duty. Their dioceses were about this time included within the *Pale*.*

* Louth, Meath, Trim, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Connaught, went at this time to form the *Pale*.

They were then subjects to the English Crown. They could not claim any protection from the Irish chieftains. The most outlying portion of the Pale—Thomond—had been brought under subjection but a few years before. O'Brien had been subdued in 1363, by Lionel, Duke of Clarence. This defeat placed the Bishop of Killaloe at the mercy of the Anglo-Irish Government. Nor could religion, at this time at least, have much suffered by being under the protection of the Anglo-Irish barons rather than the Irish chieftains as far as Killaloe was concerned. In the year 1334 "the Conacians attacked the Macnamaras in Clare, and slew a hundred and eighty persons, with two priests in a church. And within three years of the Kilkenny Council, John M'Namara was bound to keep the peace towards the Bishops of Killaloe and Limerick, and restore to the latter the books, ornaments and chalices, which he took from the church of Limerick.

While the English monarch oppressed his subjects of the Pale, he appeared the more jealous of the Pope's authority, and careful that he should not in his difficulties be relieved by his children. For a long time the presentation to benefices in Ireland was a matter of dispute between the Pope and the king. To understand this it may be well to premise a few words on "provisions." In the multiplicity of business, and owing to the difficulty of communication, the Pope allowed the appointment to bishoprics without recurrence to himself. He had much less difficulty in leaving to others the appointment to benefices. But as time went on, and as the complicated relations of civilisation involved the Pope in trouble, and sometimes in wars, he found it convenient for the rewarding of faithful and worthy servants, to have the disposal of benefices. He asserted his right.

In rewarding faithful servants he had no idea of neglecting the interests of the Church.* The Pope, then, sometimes from the plenitude of power, reserved to himself the appointment to a certain benefice, even before it had become vacant. To such an appointment, to any appointment by the Pope, the king was decidedly opposed. With the best intentions in the world the Pope, it may be admitted, was liable to appoint an obnoxious individual. He was liable to be deceived sometimes by the venal representations of his officials. But from selfishness, and not from the inconveniences of appointments by provision, were they opposed by the king. Such opposition and anger did appointment by provision excite that it incurred the penalty of "premunire." Or rather the statute of "premunire" was first passed in 16th Richard II. against those who received benefices from the Pope by provision. By that statute one forfeited goods and chattels, and incurred imprisonment during life or the king's pleasure. By it one could not resent a personal injury.†

Notwithstanding such legislation the Pope appointed to livings. Sometimes there was a division of time in the appointment to benefices between the Pope and the bishop. Sometimes there was a division between the king and the Pope in such appoint-

* Pope Clement, learning that his nephew had three benefices, compelled him to resign two. In the thirteenth century the famous Grosseteste, on a visit to Innocent IV., at Lyons, laid a memorial before him; and traced the evils of the Church to the corruption of the world, to the venality of the servants of the Roman court, and to the clauses *non obstante*. To the credit of the Pope he ordered the memorial to be read before all.—*Spond*, 222.

† *Premunire facias* "were the words with which the statute began; by the 25th of Edward III. under the statute of *premunire* one may be killed. However it lost that severity by the 5th of Eliz."—Brown's *Penal Laws*, p. 26.

ments.* Sometimes the ordinary was allowed to present to the poorer livings, while the king claimed and exercised the right of presenting to the richer benefices. In 1374, a dispute of two years' standing was terminated. Gregory XI. pledged himself not to appoint to benefices by "provision." The king bound himself not to appoint by letters "Quare impedit." By the withdrawal of the claims of each full freedom in domestic nomination to benefices was established in the Irish Church.† But after the passing of the Kilkenny statutes appointments by provision were forbidden by the king. He denied to the Pope's delegate leave to enter the kingdom. He forbade under heavy penalties any bishop to receive or publish a bull of excommunication.‡ He cut off that friendly intercourse which should subsist between the several branches of a religious order. Some houses of the Cistercian Order, because they sent some contributions to the sister houses in France, were persecuted by the king. The king prevented the gathering of Peter Pence in the Pale.§ Even his successor, in 1396, grudged the smallest living to

* Pope Adrian IV. was the first Pope who reserved prebends.

In 1398, in cathedral and collegiate bodies, the Pope and the ordinary were to present alternately till the Pope had three presentations. In other benefices the Pope and ordinary were to present alternately for fourteen months. If the persons presented were not agreeable to the king another was presented.—Wilkin's *Con.* III., 237.

† Wilkin's *Conc. Hib. Dom.* ch. 1.

‡ He forbade it under the penalty of loss of temporalities. In England the Commons gave leave to the king to modify the law relative to excommunication. The prelates protested against everything that trenched on the privileges of the Pope or liberty of the Church. In Ireland the prelates raised not a voice for freedom of the Church; nor did the monarch use his dispensing power in reference to the law on excommunication.

§ Dowling, *ad. an.* 1369.

one of the Pope's dependents, and instituted a process to eject the Dean of St. Patrick's.*

In the Pale the people were oppressed by taxation; the lawyers were corrupt; the clergy were slaves; and the prelates were employed as commissioners for raising forces. Deplorable must have been the condition of those who, within the Pale, were denied the benefit of English law. Melancholy must have been their lot, deprived of the ministrations of their own clergy. They could not have been exhorted or reproved in the old familiar language. As no Irish friar or beneficed clergyman may live within the Pale, many must have found it difficult to approach the sacraments. But while in the hands of the monarch the Church was a mere puppet, there was not among its members a spirit rising with the occasion, which would tend to neutralise such corrupting influences. In the year 1392, the Canons of St. Thomas, Dublin, attacked the abbot, John Seargeant; and to secure the services of the mayor and mob they stole some chalices. So effectually were the services of these secured, that when ordered out by the chief justice's men the canons did not disperse. Several acts of robbery were committed; the sacred hosts were scattered on the ground; and the abbot with his party narrowly escaped murder.

In another part of the Pale,† between the archbishop and his suffragan we witness the most outrageous scene. Either from the wrongheadedness of the Bishop of Limerick, or the encroachments of the

* Cardinal Randolph, by a "Quare impedit," was put from an Irish living. The king complained that many of the Pope's dependents enjoyed Irish livings though not living in Ireland. This conduct appears less ultramontane than that of the native, notwithstanding Dr. Todd's theory.—*Liber Munerum*,

† Indeed Thomond may be said to be fairly severed from the Pale and mastered by O'Brien.

Franciscans on the privileges of the secular priests, disputes became so warm between the bishop and the friars that the latter claimed the interposition of their conservator, the Archbishop of Cashel. He remonstrated with the bishop and spoke of the grievances of the friars. But the bishop only flew at him and tore his clothes. The bishop was cited for trial; but this only made him heap more grievances on the friars. He excommunicated all who would have recourse to the Franciscan friary, either for divine service or for burial. His name was Creagh. He was accused of heresy by the archbishop; and the archbishop and his attendants, coming to Limerick, narrowly escaped being murdered. All who supplied them with food were excommunicated by the bishop. Persons sent in pursuit of the archbishop molested him and pulled the bridle off his horse.*

To add to this confusion the great schism of the West worked its bad consequences in Ireland. The reader must be aware that in the middle of the fourteenth century the Pope found it necessary to leave Rome. He took up his residence at Avignon. After some seventy years his successor proceeded to Rome. Owing to the long stay of seventy years on French soil the Popes were influenced to admit very many Frenchmen among the cardinals. Three-fourths of the cardinals were Frenchmen. But not long after the removal of the Popes from Avignon to Rome a vacancy occurred in the Papacy. An election took place. The cardinals, principally the French cardinals, affected to believe the late election to have been influenced by the violence of the Roman populace, and proceeded to a second election. Two rival Popes appealed to the obedience of Christendom;

* Harris' *Bishops*, p. 508.

France, Cyprus, Sicily, Naples, adhered to Clement; the rest of Europe clung to Urban VI. The rivals had successors—one set in Rome, another in France—for full eighty years. During that period Christian Europe was distracted by this schism. To Clement, who was afterwards acknowledged to be anti-Pope, many of the Irish clergy adhered. Several appointments, of course, were made by Clement in Ireland. But on the accession of Boniface IX. two diplomas were expedited annulling the appointments made by the Dominican General, Raymond Tolosanus.* In 1381, Pope Urban wrote to the guardians of the Franciscans of Galway to have all excommunicated who adhered to the anti-Pope Clement VII. He also deposed a worthy man, Gregory O'Moghan because promoted by Clement.†

At this time, and especially in the next century, to have an accurate notion of things, one must consider the Irish Church as distinguished from the Anglo-Irish. Because the views, the actions of both were different, yea opposite. And when one may be pronounced to be in a comparatively triumphant state, the other, indeed, may be styled a militant Church. Though the bishops of the Pale contributed largely to the necessities of the State, the bishops among the Irish were not asked to pay. The Archbishop of Tuam did not answer the circular which summoned to parliament. The Irish bishops had a great deal to do: too much to do to spare time for attending parliaments in order to tax themselves for the subjugation of their country. A difficult task it was to keep the just anger of their subjects within proper bounds. The position of the people may easily be realised, by considering that deputies were sent by the king to Ireland with unlimited power

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 52.

† *Harris' Bishops*, 611.

either for the maintenance of territory actually in their possession, or for the acquisition of more. The lands in the hands of Irish chieftains were held out as a reward to adventurers. But whether the natives advanced or receded, the Irish ecclesiastics moved with them. They were in possession about the close of the fourteenth century of two-thirds of the country. They were styled "the enemy" by the English. Frequent mention is made of applications to the king by the clergy of the Pale for redress of the injuries done to them by the Irish.* The Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, whether paid by the king or living in peace on tithes and oblations behind the Pale, were sure of maintenance. The livelihood of the Irish ecclesiastics was more precarious: they clung to those who struggled for a nation's freedom.

The Irish ecclesiastics, as well of the first as of the second order, had a voice and seat in parliament. My remarks apply only to the Anglo-Irish clergy within the Pale. From the very beginning those abbots who held of an earldom and bishops as temporal lords exercised a decided influence on the great councils of State. The second order of the clergy as clerics had not always a seat in parliament. The Pope was seen to have appealed to the religious and charitable feelings of the clergy in his difficulties. The appeal brought him considerable supplies. The king seeing this, thought that he too might use them as so many sponges to suck money from the people. Whether this, as some think, suggested the idea of giving representative influence to the clergy, or that analogy pointed to them as a corresponding or counterbalancing supplementary power to the knights, as the bishops were to the lords, I am not prepared to

* Richard II. gave £40 yearly for the support of the Bishop of Kilmore.

say. But in the middle, and particularly towards the close, of the thirteenth century, the second order of the clergy met in parliament. The Irish clergy did not sit apart from the laics in parliament, as the English clergy in convocation. When in convocation the clergy were divided into archbishops and bishops, into priors and abbots, into deans and archdeacons, and the general body of the clergy formed the fourth division.

Parliamentary summons ran thus:*

“To the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and clerks who hold of an earldom or barony. All these, and only these, were to attend at their own expense: To the archbishops, bishops, priors, abbots, clerks, deans, and to other privileged persons who had jurisdiction, that by the assent of the clergy there may be elected for every deanery and archdeaconry of Ireland, and for themselves the archdeacons and deans, two wise and competent persons as proxies, for the said deaneries and archdeaconries, who were to come and remain in parliament to answer, and support, and consent to do whatever each of the said deaneries and archdeaconries would have done if present.”

The proctors were ordered to come with duplicates of the warrant, sealed with the seal of their superior. One of them was to be delivered to the clerk of parliament for enrolment; the other was to be kept by themselves. If the parliament were to be held in Dublin, the Archbishop of Dublin sat at the right of the king, or of his representative. If the parliament sat in Armagh, the Archbishop of Armagh took the right. If the parliament were held neither in Dublin nor in Armagh, the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel sat at the right; the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam sat at the left of the king. The remain-

* *Vid.* App. MM.

ing bishops and clergy sat at the right, under the second bench. On the left, under the corresponding left bench, sat the earls, barons, and the knights. Parliament did not sit on All Saints' Day, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, or on Sunday. It opened generally at a quarter to one o'clock. But on holidays, owing to divine service, it did not open till one in the afternoon. Some of the clergymen of the diocese wherein the parliament was held preached. The earls or peers answered only for themselves. The knights, because representing others, had more influence than the earls. The same may be said of the clergy; because they bore the same relation to the bishops as the knights did to the earls. Should the knights and the clergy have been absent for good reasons, no business in their absence could be transacted by the bishops and earls. But the absence of the latter did not prevent the clergy and knights from proceeding to the business of the day.*

The proctors had the same privileges as the lords.† Very rarely were the clergy asked to the English parliament. Nor were the parliaments at home of annual or frequent occurrence. But, unfrequent as they were, there was a reluctance in attending them. It was deemed rather a burden than an honour to be a member. Hence, to enforce attendance, fines were often resorted to.‡

The art of painting in perspective, especially at this as at other times in Ireland as developed for sacred purposes or by ecclesiastics, was at a discount.

* *Selden. Prynne's Anim.*

† *Liber Mun.*, 7th par., 3rd of Ed. IV.

‡ In 1377, the Chapter of Cashel was fined for not sending proctors to parliament. The bishop was represented at the time; and this circumstance clearly proves the right and obligation of attendance on the part of the second order of the clergy. The privilege or burden of voting was taken away by the 28th of Henry VIII. in order to carry the "Reformation."

Unless indeed under painting may be included the art of caligraphy and illumination, which attained unrivalled perfection.

The tints were laid on so brightly and skilfully, the curious device traced with such wondrous cunning, the various colours so happily combined, and the whole so large and beautiful, that the illumination of the letters wore the appearance of a painting and the work of angels.* The art of engraving, too, received a wonderful development from the Church. This would appear even from the "Domnach Airgid" alone. I will lay a description of this venerable piece of workmanship before the reader for several reasons; because it will illustrate the progress of the arts in connexion with the Church; and because it will show with what veneration and attachment the faithful clung to the relics of their saints.†

"The 'Domnach Airgid'‡ was an oblong box, nine inches long, seven inches broad, and five inches in height. It was composed of three distinct coverings. The innermost was of yew wood, the second of copper plated with silver, and the third of silver plated with gold. The first was used by St. Patrick; the middle one was put on in some time between the sixth and twelfth century. The last is of great

* Perhaps than the books of Kells in Trinity College, Europe supplies nothing grander, or more beautiful in point of illumination.

† I will take the description from XVIIIth Volume of the *Transactions* in the Royal Irish Academy.

‡ In St. Patrick's time "Domnach" was applied to a reliquary or generally to a church. In the tripartite life of the saint it is said that "he bestowed on M'Cartan, Bishop of Clogher, the 'Domnach Airgid,' which had been given from heaven to St. Patrick, when on the sea, coming to Erin." This, coupled with the fact that the copy of the Gospel preserved in the reliquary may be traced back to the fifth or fourth century, leaves no doubt of its having been in possession of our national patron.—*Vid.* O'Curry, *MSS. Mat.* vol. i., p. 325.

interest, as a specimen of the skill and taste in the arts at its time, also for the highly-finished representations of ancient costume which it preserves. The ornaments on the top consist chiefly of a large figure of the Saviour in alto relievo; on the centre are eleven figures of saints in basso relievo on each side in four oblong compartments. At the head of the Saviour there is a representation of the dove or Holy Ghost enamelled in gold; and over this a small square reliquary covered with crystal, and which probably contains a supposed piece of the true cross. Immediately over this again is a shield, on which the implements of the Passion are emblazoned in blue and red paste; and above this there is a square reliquary similarly covered with crystal, but of a smaller size. The smaller figures in relief on the first compartment are the Irish saints Columba, Brigid, and Patrick; on the second, the Apostles SS. James, Peter, and Paul; on the third, the Archangel Michael, the Virgin and Child; and on the fourth a bishop presenting a 'Cumdach,' or cover, to an ecclesiastic—a device which evidently has an historical relation to the reliquary itself, and which shall be noticed hereafter. There is a third figure in this compartment which I am unable to explain. The rim is ornamented on its two external faces with various grotesque devices executed with very considerable skill, and the angles were enriched with pearls, probably native, or other precious jewels. A tablet on the rim, and at the upper side, presents the following inscription in the character of the 13th and 14th centuries: 'Johannes O'Karbri Comorbanus St. Tig-hernani permisit.' Another inscription in the same character preserves the name of the artist, by whom the embellishments on the outer case were executed, and is valuable as proving that this interesting

specimen of ancient art was not of foreign manufacture. It will be found on a small moulding over one of the tablets: 'Johannes O'Bardann fabricavit.' The first side of the case presents three convex *platinæ*, ornamented in a very elegant style of art with figures of grotesque animals and traceries. They are enamelled with a blue paste and have in the centre of each cup an ancient crystal covering relics like those on the top. An interesting feature on this side is the figure of a chief or nobleman on horseback, with sword in hand. It exhibits with minute accuracy the costume of the nobility in Ireland during the fourteenth century. The ornaments contained within the rim on the back or opposite side are lost, and their places have been supplied by the recent repairer by figures which originally belonged to the right and left sides. On the right-hand side the upper compartments present a figure of St. Catherine, with those of a monk in the attitude of prayer on the left, and a boy incensing on the right; these latter figures are not in relief but are engraved on the field of the tablet. The second or lower compartment of this side is lost. On the left hand side the upper compartments present the figure of an ecclesiastic seated in a chair or throne, his left holding a small cross, and his right raised in the act of giving benediction. Figures incensing are engraved on the field. This principal figure probably represents St. Maccartin or Tighernagh. This under compartment exhibits a figure of St. John Baptist holding in his left hand a round medallion or picture of the Lamb, and in his right hand a scroll on which are inscribed the words '*Ecce Agnus Dei.*' A figure of the daughter of Herodias, with the head of St. John Baptist on a salver, appears engraved on the field. The bottom or back of the case is orna-

mented with a large cross, on which there is an inscription in the Gothic or black letter. This inscription is at a later date than those already noticed, but I am unable, from its injured state, to decipher it wholly. It concludes with the word 'Cloacher,' the name of the see to which, as I shall presently show, the reliquary originally belonged. I now come to the most important portion of this important ornament of antiquity—the treasure for whose honour and preservation so much cost and labour were expended. It is a Latin MS. of the Gospels, but of what text or version I am unable in its present state to offer an opinion; as the membranes are so necessarily incorporated by time, that I dare not venture, through fear of injury, to separate them. These Gospels are separate from each other. Three of them appear perfect, but the fourth, which is the Gospel of St. Matthew, is considerably injured in the beginning; and from this two leaves have been detached which have enabled us to ascertain the subject as well as the form of letter used in the MS.: namely, the uncial or corrupt Roman character popularly called Irish."

As illustrative of the arts in the service of the Church, may be mentioned the crozier and mitre of Cornelius O'Dea, Bishop of Limerick, in the year 1400. The two sides of the mitre are composed of gilded laminæ of silver. A jewelled band runs round the base, up the centre, and along the sloping edges. The bands are edged with mouldings, and a cresting of vine leaves encircles the outer edge of the sloping portion. Though the infulæ or pendants are of late addition evidently, yet they contain very old crystals. On them, too, are two ornaments of enamel: one represents a hare pursued by a hound, the other a winged lion. In front of the mitre is the enamelled

inscription: "Hoc signum crucis erit in cœlo," under a crystal cross, and under another behind, runs the remaining portion of the inscription: "Cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit." The mitre had been adorned with precious stones, emeralds, amethysts, rubies, crystals, and pearls. The crosier is of the same material as the mitre, and weighing about ten pounds. The cross displays six statuettes standing on suitable pedestals and under rich canopies. These statuettes represent the Blessed Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Patrick, and St. Munchin. The shaft is elaborated with chased work. Inside the curve are statuettes of the B. V. Mary with a dove overhead, and of the angel Gabriel. A pelican with extended wings and feeding its young supports the curve. Underneath are represented, on enamel, five female figures and that of St. John Evangelist. It has been the subject of interesting lectures with antiquarians, the object of universal admiration at exhibitions, and a fit illustration of the progress of the arts in the hands of learned professors.*

An entry in the *Four Masters*, under the year 1356, will enable us to consider still further the art of engraving in the Irish Church in connexion with the veneration of sacred relics. "The bell of St. Patrick was this year in possession of O'Mellan." That bell, in reference to its privileges and claims to veneration, was second only to the "Domnach Airgid." It was in the fourteenth century and for generations before in possession of the Mulholland family.† It was $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, six in length, and 4 in breadth. Its appearance was simple, but the ornaments of the cover show the great veneration

* The late Very Rev. and learned President, Dr. Russell of Maynooth, utilised it when lecturing on Christian antiquities.

† Stewart's *Armagh*.

in which it was held. The ground of the cover was brass, edged with copper. The case at the top ends in the form of a compressed mitre. The quadrangular sides and the top are curiously and richly engraved: gold and diamonds and precious sapphires of various hues were set in it. Curious devices are raised in gold filigree. Below on its margin the following inscription ran: "The bell was presented by Domnald O'Lachnan to Domnald, the comarb of St. Patrick." But many centuries, at least, before the manufacture of this cover in the first years of the eleventh century, if not in the time of St. Patrick, was the bell itself made.* Strange were the vicissitudes through which that bell passed. In 1441, the O'Mellan family was degraded from being guardians of it.† A pastoral was addressed by the Archbishop of Armagh on the occasion. "I, John, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Armagh, to the faithful, greeting. Considering that for a long time John O'Mellan, who acts as chief of his clan and guardian to the bell of St. Patrick, of blessed memory, by the permission of our metropolitical and primatial Church, and of the prelate who presided at the time, being sworn to the said Church and public to show himself faithful and obedient, and as long as it was the good-will and pleasure of the Church to leave it to him to care the bell and the revenues by reason of the privileges of the bell; considering this, and that not for a long period in our own time or in that of our predecessor did he give an account of himself; and that, disobedient and faithless to the oath sworn by him to the Church, he still keeps the revenues, against the will of the prelate and his tenants; on this account, and for not paying the

* Preface to Stewart's *Armagh*.† Prynne's *Register*.

revenues due, he has incurred the sentence of suspension and excommunication and interdict; and, though suspended and excommunicated and interdicted by apostolical sentence, for maintaining Charles O'Mellan in the deanery of Armagh, he has remained under such censures for seven years, despising the power of the Church, whence it appears he deserves to be counted a heretic rather than an humble obedient child of the Church. On this account we consider him not only unworthy as a keeper of the bell, but deprived of all honour, privilege, emolument, till he merits to be absolved from the said censure, since the laws of the Church do not allow its privileges and immunities to those who violate them. We deprive him of the guardianship of the bell and all honour and emolument, and place it under the care of another, Patrick O'Mullehallynd, the captain of his sept, as long as it may please the Church; and we order all our subjects, laic and clerical, not to pay John O'Mellan any dues or honour on account of said bell, but rather look on him as suspended, excommunicated, interdicted, deprived of all privileges; and to avoid his society as pestilential, under pain of suspension, excommunication, interdict, which are incurred *ipso facto* at the expiration of nine days. Besides, we enjoin all ecclesiastics through the province on the days and in the places they can meet the congregations in greatest numbers, to publish that persons acting against our order will, after the third day after publication on your part, incur the penalty of excommunication, suspension, and interdict. Given at Dundalk, in the second year of consecration." This gives us a pretty clear idea of the importance attached to the bell—to see it contended for by two chiefs of their respective clans. From the same archbishop a letter was sent to

O'Mulchalind, appointing him guardian of the bell, and inflicting censures of excommunication, suspension and interdict after nine days, if he dared to let it fall into the hands of O'Mellan or any other.

All this was enacted on a small scale in reference to a bell or some relic of many other Irish saints. The crosier of St. Patrick, called the staff of Jesus, held in the highest veneration, was compared for its wondrous virtue to the rod of Aaron. The "Cathach" of St. Grellan was borne in battle.* The bell of Inismacsaint was held in great veneration. For the discovery of truth people swore by it. The swearing brought blessings on the innocent, but awful visitations on the guilty.† In our own time, for the same purposes, and with the same veneration, was the bell of St. Senanus employed. It remained till a few years ago in the possession of one family. Whoever wished to establish his innocence or get a clue to a stolen article borrowed the bell, and after using it restored it to the keeper.‡ No less forcibly illustrative of our subject than the relics of our national saint is the "Cathach" of the great founder of our monastic orders, St. Columbkille.

The "Cathach" of St. Columbkille consisted of some fifty-eight leaves written on both sides. For many years there remains of it only that portion of the Psalms from the 31st to the 106th Psalm. The leaves have been lost which comprised the Psalms from the 1st to the 31st. I should have said that the "Cathach" was only a copy of the Psalms. It was composed under the following circumstances:—Once on a time the great founder of Irish monastic

* *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 84.

† Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 114.

‡ *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Part II., ch. 32, ad distinctiones) says that a bell in Leinster was found in Clonard (Meath), at a vast distance from where it had been the preceding evening. He speaks of it as a miracle.

orders had been on a visit to St. Finnen of Dromfin, in Ulster; and during his visit, chancing to see a copy of the Psalms, he fell to transcribe it. Whether it was that he feared being refused leave to transcribe it if observed, or that he expected to have been presented with the copy if seen to take an interest in it, and so wished not to be troublesome to St. Finnen, certain it is that St. Columkille applied himself privately to the work of transcription. In order to this, after all others used leave the chapel, he remained alone in it. However, while writing out the Psalter, he was observed by some of St. Finnen's friends or domestics. Though observed he was not interrupted, and it was only on the completion of the transcript that St. Finnen demanded the transcribed copy. St. Columkille refused acceding to the demand. He maintained that what was got at his own cost and trouble and without loss to another belonged to himself. This did not satisfy St. Finnen; he insisted on claiming the copy as well as the original. Dermot Gerrbheoil was monarch of Ireland at the time; to his arbitration the litigated matter was referred; his decision was in favour of St. Finnen. St. Columkille, thinking himself unfairly treated, abided by the decision. But something else happened by-and-by at the hand of Ireland's monarch which was too much for the temper or zeal of Columba. A son to the King of Connaught was a hostage with O'Kervil, Monarch of Ireland. His steward was killed by the Connaught prince. Terrified and conscience-stricken, he ran to the protection of St. Columba. But the saint did not screen him; he was dragged from the knees and embraces of the saint; and lest the saint himself would depart, he was kept under arrest in the palace. Before long, however, he contrived to make his escape.

Remembering the injustice done himself personally by arrest, and the wrong decision in reference to the "Cathach," and burning with a holy indignation at the murder of the Connacian prince in violation of the sanctuary laws, St. Columbkille directly proceeded to his friends, the O'Donnells of Donegal. He besought them to avenge—not a personal injury which he could forgive—but the gross outrage on morality and religion. At once they flew to arms. They were joined by the father of the murdered prince—the King of Connaught. Both parties met at Cuil Dreninne, between Sligo and Drumcliff. After an obstinate engagement the forces of the monarch of Ireland were routed; himself narrowly escaped with his life. The decision of the monarch in reference to the transcript of the Psalms was supposed to have brought war on his hands, as much as the murder and violation of sanctuary in his own palace. From this circumstance the Psalms, or the shrine in which they were kept, got the name of "Cathach."* The shrine was adorned in each succeeding century by the ablest artists. It was carried always in battle as a means of ensuring victory. It used to be borne three times round the camp of the O'Donnells before battle by the holiest priest.† After that the war-cry "O'Donnell Aboo" was raised; forth rushed the hosts to combat; and each man conscious of acting in presence, and under the protection of the "Cathach," became a hero, and fought with the confidence of victory.

Thomas Colby was a Carmelite Friar, of Norwich, and of such eloquence and eminence for theological skill that he obtained the degree of doctor. He subsequently was appointed to the united Sees of Waterford and Lismore. He was the author of *Preceptory*

* *Cata* signifies battle. † *Vid.* Sir W. Betham's *Researches*.

of the *Divine Law*, of *Collections of Sacred Doctrine*, *Treatises on the Lord's Prayer*, on the *Miserere*, wrote some sermons, wrote on the *Purity of the Church*, was the author of *Scripture Readings*, and of *Annotations on Genesis*. All these were written before the end of the year 1406.*

John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh, was an author in this century. He wrote on the *Causes of the Schism*, and of *its Remedies*.†

Henry Marlborough was, though a Wiltshireman, Vicar of Balliscadden, in Dublin. He wrote seven books of annals in Latin. They are entitled "Chronicles extracted from the marrow of divers chronicles, especially of Ralph of Chester, together with some chapters of Irish chronicles, beginning in the year 1416.‡

Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, was of noble descent. Of his writings there remains only his *Abuses of Government*, while he was Lieutenant of Ireland. He died, August 15th, 1499.§

Michael Tregury, also Archbishop of Dublin, was author of a book on the *Sentences*; on the *Origin of that Study*, on *Ordinary Questions*.

Thomas Scrope, Bishop of Dromore, was author of various treatises. He wrote on *The Institution of the Carmelites*, and on the same Order to Pope Eugenius. He wrote also a catalogue of *Histories and Laws*; on *Papal Privileges*; on the *Introduction of Sects into England*; on his voyage to Rhodes; sermons on the Ten Commandments. He also translated into English some books on the actions of the Carmelites. He lived almost to 100 years.||

In this century, too, flourished Donald O'Fihely,

* Bayle, *Cent.*; Ware's *Writers*.

† Ware's *Writers*.

‡ Bayle, *Cent.* S, n. 51; Ware's *Writers*.

† *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

of Cork. He wrote on the annals of Ireland, which he brought down to his own time. Contemporary with Donald was a Franciscan who compiled the statutes of the Franciscan Order.

Augustin Magradan, Canon of the Augustinian Order, lived in the fourteenth century. He lived in the island of All Saints, in the Shannon; he wrote lives of the Irish saints, and continued some useful annals. He died in his monastery, in the year 1405.*

The Right Rev. Patrick Barrett wrote a catalogue of his predecessors in the See of Ferns.†

Dr. Ragged, Bishop of Cork, who was at the Council of Constance, held in 1416, wrote an account of its acts.‡

Thomas Peverell, Bishop of Ossory, who died in 1417, wrote on *Divinity, Sermons on Solemn Occasions, and on the Order of his Church.*§

William of Waterford, a Franciscan, wrote a treatise on religion, whose importance can be estimated by the fact of Cardinal Julian allowing its dedication to him.||

The author of *The Annals of Loch Ce* lived in this century. They were brought down to the year 1408. He was a canon of the Premonstrensian Order.

Philip Norris, though an Englishman, became Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He was the author of *Declamations*, of lectures on the Scriptures, of sermons to the people, and of other writings against the religious orders.¶

Philip Higgins, a Franciscan, was the author of sacred poems. He died in 1487.**

Charles Maguire, born in Fermanagh, was a profound philosopher, historian, and divine. He wrote

* Ware.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Ware's *Writers*.

|| Wadding, *Annals*, tom. iv., ad. an. 1395.

¶ Bale, *Cent. 14*, n. 99.

** Ware.

the annals of Ireland down to his own time. He was a native of Fermanagh. He was both Canon of Armagh and Dean of Clogher. The annals written by him go under the name *Senatenses*, from Senat Mac Magnus, and also "of Ulster." They are brought down to his own time from the days of Palladius. He also was the author of a martyrology, which contains upwards of 90 folio pages.* Maguire is described as "M'Manus Maguire, i.e., Cathal Oge, the son of Cathal, son of Gillapatrick, son of Matthew. He was a hospitaller, or biatach, at Leunada, a Canon Chorister at Armagh, and Dean of Clogher, Dean of Logh Erne and Rector of Inis Caein, in Logh Erne, and the representative of a bishop for fifteen years before his death. He was a precious stone, a bright gem, a luminous star, a casket of wisdom, a fruitful branch of the canons, a fountain of charity, meekness, mildness, a dove in purity of heart, a turtle dove in chastity, a person to whom the learned, the poor and destitute of Ireland were most thankful; one who was full of grace and wisdom in all sciences—in law, divinity, physic, and philosophy, and in all the Gaelic sciences. He died of the small-pox on the 10th of kalends of April, on a Friday, in the sixtieth year of his age."†

* It is in tolerable preservation in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. Of it Colgan says, "addit que ex Mariano Gormano et sanctos alios Hibernos qui apud .Engussium non habentur.—AA. SS., p. 5.

† MS. (H. I., S), T.C.D.

CHAPTER XXI.

By reading the thirteenth century backward one can form a general notion of the fifteenth century. Society was in a shifting state. Now the English law prevailed: by-and-by the Irish or Brehon laws prevailed. On the whole the boundaries of the Pale receded. So much was it narrowed during this century, especially towards its close, that the English were not in possession of much more territory than at the end of the twelfth century. This difference, however, between both periods is observable, that so many acts of fearful violence do not appear in the later as in the earlier years. This, perhaps, was owing to the overwhelming strength of the Irish, and the inability of the Anglo-Irish to offer the same resistance as they met with on their first coming among the Irish. However, there was a troubled jarring society for the Church to harmonize and fit for heavenly citizenship. With regret we must admit that the Church, at least within the Pale, did not succeed in this grand object. Because the Church was as much affected by society as it was affected by the Church. Before this there was at least towards the Anglo-Irish a show of fair play. The monarch affected to wish to reign over Ireland only to make it more civilized and happy. But owing to the insecure tenure of it, feeling it slip from their hands county after county, and turning their attention from Irish affairs during the war with France and the wars with the Roses, the English kings committed to rapacious governors the uncontrolled management of Ireland. The governorship, though accompanied with a facility of acquiring

riches, was yet often refused. Nor was the refusal deemed disobedience in the subject. Because, being a post of trouble and danger, it was looked on as a banishment.* Amid the perpetual shifting of society for centuries, and the many demoralizing acts of aggression, and no less fearful reprisal, it is consoling that the religious spirit was strong among the faithful. And, therefore, as if the love for monastic life had not been yet fully displayed, we witness the same desire as of old to multiply religious establishments.† Yes, they appear rising up more thickly in this than in the preceding century. If one considers the times in which these endowments were made, and the number already made, he will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that they were heroic displays of a religious feeling. They were heroic and they were necessary. For the Church, as represented by the Pale, was in a bad plight. There were many evil influences at work from without; and we can find corresponding danger within from its own ministers. There had been indeed one hope for the Anglo-Irish Church, and that hope it cut away. I mean provision by the Pope to vacant sees. He, as father of the faithful, and one who had the concern of all churches, had such opportunities of making a worthy choice as no petty insulated church enjoyed. New life could be poured into it by such means. There would have been a safeguard against the introduction of abuses or customs at variance with general discipline. And thus while the Pope rendered service to an individual church, he could by promotion reward faithful service.

One source of inconvenience to the Church came from without. It arose from the mercenary unfeeling

* Leland, B. II., ch. 5.

† *Vid.* App. PP.

disposition of the viceroys. They undertook a post of risk, and what was regarded as banishment; and they indemnified themselves for the sacrifice. Such as came over from England penniless, returned richer than those who owned whole counties.* The only condition made with them was, that they would preserve Ireland or the Pale for the English crown. By cruelty and corruption they did keep it. There were some, but very few exceptions.† The Duke of Bedford, by letters patent, appropriated to himself all the king's domains, and all the gold and silver mines of the kingdom. The Church indeed was to get a tenth. The time had gone by when that Church could without stint, by the production of nature, ~~make~~ the altars blaze in splendour. During the years 1413 and 1414, the lord lieutenant's administration was marked by the most sacrilegious rapacity. He gave neither happiness to the layman nor quiet to the ecclesiastic in the sanctuary. In the words of the annalist, "he brought trouble on all with whom he came in contact." Furnival succeeded, and walked in the footsteps of his predecessor. In the words of the same annalist, "he spared neither saint nor sanctuary." He departed, and carried with him the curses of many. On condition that he would be allowed to present to vacant benefices, the Duke of Lancaster undertook the government.‡ And when after some time Ormond came to the representation of government, the parliament in granting supplies, drew up a list of grievances. Among other griev-

* In laying their complaints before the king the knights asked — "How does it happen that a person coming from England to Ireland for a few years went back richer than those with large properties in the latter country?"

† Thomas Rokeby, in 1353, preferred eating off wooden dishes to have left his servants unpaid.

‡ Cox, *Hib. Anglic.*, vol. i., p. 407.

ances they complained of the general corruption of the governors; that the churches were kept without pastors; and finally complained of the exaction of coyne and livery. They wound up by a most extraordinary demand, that he would request the Pope to preach up a crusade against the old Irish. Those who would flesh their swords on the Catholic Irish as readily as on the infidel, surely to say the best were not in a very Christian state of mind. They raised the cry of danger, and demanded supplies. But so much were the demands of the Irish parliament looked on as emanating from a selfish few, that the chancellor would not affix his seal to them.

The Church of the Pale, instead of giving an example of moderation, of energy, and of zeal in meeting these evil influences, instead of preaching up peace and restraint on the lust for conquest, only proved itself a fitting instrument in the hands of the State. Nothing could be more foreign from the profession of the minister of the Gospel than to encourage the wars which were waged at that time. The English clergy gave up every idea of going in among the natives and exercising their ministrations for them. Their aims, perhaps, were never so high. They did not adopt the proper means to make themselves efficient even among their own countrymen. The Prior of Kildare buckles on armour and leads on the English against the Irish.* The principal dignitaries of the Church acted a like disedifying part. The Archbishops of Dublin were justiciaries. They had to look to the peace of the realm. They gathered together the priests and people; all moved in procession and offered up public prayers for the defeat of their neighbours fighting for their country and homes. Some 3,000 of the Irish were said to

* Marlborough.

have been slain on the occasion. *Te Deums* of course were chaunted. But the annalist with very great reason adds: "Would that the devout prayers of the priests attributed their victories to God."* Such instances of a warlike spirit in ecclesiastics were anything but rare. Did the king require a reinforcement for his French wars, the Prior of Kilmainham is under way at the head of 1,600 soldiers.† Is a sally to be made and are several of the enemy to be taken down or castles to be razed, the Archbishop of Dublin heads the charge and directs the battering company. The prelates, far from being ministers of peace, were only men of blood. The absence of many of its ministers was another source of ruin to the Church. So much was this the case that parliament insisted on their return. Hence, we can imagine the neglect of souls, the ruinous state of the Church. The treasury was empty. There was the greater reason then for the ecclesiastic's return to claim his tithes, and contribute to the necessities of the State.‡ The student prosecuting his studies in England or elsewhere was fineable.§ Than this fact, perhaps, nothing gives a stronger idea of the disregard entertained of the Church. It was the more melancholy and fatal as there was a strict prohibition against any person being promoted to a living from among the Irish. The old enactments, by which the appointment of Irish archbishops and bishops was prevented, had been confirmed by the 4th of Henry V.|| A collation to a benefice by a bishop or prior led to a forfeiture of his goods. And such a collation though confirmed by the governor was null.

* Dowling, ad. an., 1414.

† M'Gheoghan, p. 360.

‡ An old seal being found and cancelled was sold in order to repair the windows of the council chamber, which were in a ruinous state.—Lel., B. III.

§ Cox, *passim*.

|| Harris' *Hibernica*.

It might be hoped that while the bishops and priests were such strangers to their vocation, the spirit of the world may not find its way undisguisedly into the cloister. But a patent given to Margery, Prioress of Graane, county Kildare, when perused will change our impressions. The patent enabled her to sell as well clothes as bread and ale. How much the gold of the sanctuary was obscured!!

What occurred in 1421, as remarked by a Protestant historian, shows in its true light the spirit of the Anglo-Irish. Setting aside a love of religion and fair play, there is a tie between those of the same profession, an *esprit de corps*, which, in the absence of all sense of religion, animates one. Even that feeling was stifled in the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastic. John Gese, Bishop of Waterford, brings several charges against the Archbishop of Cashel. The latter, though an exemplary man, is accused of incontinence. This was done in order to gain more credit for the other charges. One who could bring a charge which, if true, would involve such a serious violation of the canons—and this before a lay assembly—may well be suspected for forging other charges. The principal of these charges had been that the Archbishop of Cashel was an enemy to the English, that he opposed their promotion, and encouraged his suffragans to do the same. Anxious as the parliament might be for his condemnation and degradation, yet it acquitted him. And surely those who kept his see vacant for two years after his death could not have been averse from a sentence which would throw his revenues into their hands.*

As a matter of course, those who had not the spirit of poverty, could ill brook the scanty revenues

* Archdall.

derived from their sees. Accordingly, an effort was made by the Bishop of Cloyne to get the diocese of Cork united to his own. It did not succeed at this time. But nine years after, by a decree of Martin V., they were united. In 1442, Connor and Down were united. The Archbishop of Armagh was opposed to the union; and though he promised his help to John in bringing about the union, yet he summoned him on the one hand to appear before him on the Thursday after the Epiphany, to account for the contemplated union, and on the other side, William Stanley, to show cause against the union. In discussing the propriety of the union, the strongest reason urged against it was not that the people may be neglected or be disposed to murmur, but that the hands of the Irish would be strengthened by such a change. Now and afterwards the Anglo-Irish were anxious to consolidate livings. It may be a puzzle to those who wish to account for it on religious grounds. But it becomes very intelligible, if we conceive self-interest to be the moving spring in the actions of the Anglo-Irish colony. That it might not tempt any man of merit whom the Pope might think fit to send to it, the prebend of Swords in 1431 was divided.*

As the century advanced, while the limits of the Anglo-Irish territory were contracted, those of the old Irish proportionately were extended. In the very first years of this century, we find the people of Cork object to coming to Dublin on account of the strength of the Irish. They further added that, whereas formerly the Irish were cooped in a narrow spot, now with the exception of what was in the hands of a few families, they were possessed of all the lands. Black rent was paid for Munster and,

* Swayn's Register.

if you except Dublin, Leinster likewise.* And yet while he could not master a sod of ground, the English monarch claimed the right of presenting to vacant benefices. By the 4th of Henry V., the appointment of an archbishop or bishop of the Irish nation was prohibited.†

Now pausing midway in the course which I have marked out for myself, while anticipating some changes that will come on, I will give a retrospective glance at several dioceses during nearly two hundred years. About a score of years previous to the invasion by the Anglo-Normans there are found nearly sixty independent dioceses in the Irish Church. The Synod of Kells, held in 1152, determined that the number should be brought down to thirty-eight.‡

Some twenty years, then, were sufficient, from the Synod of Kells to the Synod of Cashel, to bring about the contemplated change. Because at the coming of the English in 1169 there were about thirty-eight dioceses. Not that they were of the same extent or went by the same name precisely as was prescribed at the Synod of Kells; and on the other hand some turn up, though not mentioned among those which were to be permanent sees §

And first of all, with regard to Armagh, the primatial see, it was rather small indeed; so small that

* Leland, B. III.

† The object was to prevent Irish members from hiring Irish servants who might betray the secrets of parliament.

‡ The dioceses subject to Armagh, in 1326, were Meath, Clonmacnois, Ardagh, [Down, Connor, Derry, Raphoe, Tibruin (Kilmore), and Clogher. Those subject to Dublin were Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin, and Kildare. Those subject to Cashel were Limerick, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Cork, Ross, Fynabore, and Killaloe. Those subject to Tuam were Killala, Achonry, Duagh, Elphin, and Clonfert.

§ Elphin is not mentioned in some lists among the permanent sees.

in the thirteenth century there had been question of uniting all Clogher to it. In the middle of the thirteenth century, during the episcopacy of Archbishop Reiner, Louth had been detached from Clogher and added to Armagh. Though Louth, previous to the eleventh century, had been an independent diocese, yet since that time it continued united to Clogher till its union with Armagh. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Black Abbey of St. Andrew, in Down, was annexed to Armagh. It had been purchased from the Abbey of Lonley, in Normandy, to which it was a cell.

As regards the metropolitanical jurisdiction of Armagh it did not extend over Clonmacnois.* This diocese was adjudged to Tuam at the Council of Lateran in 1215. It continued for about a hundred years subject to Armagh, however; and about the middle of the fourteenth century was annexed to Tuam, and about 1526 it was reannexed to Armagh.

Ardagh, too, and Kells had been subject to Tuam for some time. On that account we find the Archbishop of Tuam complain, in 1217, that they were claimed by Armagh; and in 1237 the matter was committed for adjudication to delegates. In the year 1240, the Archbishop of Armagh applied to Gregory IX. to unite Clogher to Armagh, and stated that they had been one before; that Armagh was much impoverished owing to the attacks on it and the depredations by barons, and that none was a fiercer enemy to it than the former Bishop of Clogher. A like supplication had been made to the Pope before the present, but nothing came of it. In this document it is stated that the Bishop of Clogher claimed juris-

* In 1350, in a list of sees written before 1350, Fynabore or Corcumrohtis given to Cashel; Ardagh and Clonmacnois are given to Armagh.—MSS. of Minors in Kilkenny, and given by Ussher. E 3, 16, T.C.D.

diction over the priory of Luvadea (*sic.*) and other churches between Carlingford Bay and the middle of the river Boyne.

In regard to Tuam, the Pope of the day, in the year 1327, wrote to the archbishops, and their suffragans, but does not mention Enaghduane nor Mayo as if claimed by Tuam. Certain it is that the Pope at one time united to Tuam Enaghduane, Achonry, and Kilmacduagh owing to the poverty of Tuam, which union was to have taken place on the death of their then present bishop, and that the chapters of these dioceses should be incorporated with Tuam in the election of an archbishop. The union, however, did not take place. In the year 1358, to Kilmacduagh, formerly united to Tuam, Nicholas is appointed bishop, as the Archbishop of Tuam said its union would be more injurious than otherwise to Tuam, but in the next year he opposed an appointment to the diocese of Enaghduane.

The Archbishop of Tuam had some trouble, not only in increasing the extent of the diocese, but in enlarging the share of its jurisdiction in the province.

In the year 1212, the Archbishop of Tuam laid claim to jurisdiction over the bishoprics of Ardagh and Clonmacnois and insisted that these had been taken from him by the Archbishop of Armagh. Clonmacnois was adjudged to Tuam at the Synod of Kells, but Armagh contrived to get possession of it, as if the Shannon was its natural boundary. At the Council of Lateran the matter was reserved by Innocent III., but Armagh kept it till towards the middle of the fourteenth century, when Tuam got and kept it till within a short time before the Reformation.

In like manner, in the year 1235, claim was laid to Ardagh by Tuam. Hence a commission given to the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of

Ossory, and Prior of All Saints, Dublin, by Pope Gregory IX., who said, "that, as stated by his venerable brother, Bishop Jozelin, Ardagh was assigned at the Synod of Kells to Tuam, and that it appointed several bishops to Ardagh subsequently. At the Council of Lateran the matter was disputed, and a certain process ordered, but Armagh did not appear, and continued for a year obstinate or careless in proving its claim, and thus was Tuam, by authority of the Holy See, left, in some sort, in possession; and when letters were directed to the Bishop of Kilfenora to examine the matter he definitively decided in favour of Tuam. In consequence of the decision the Archbishop of Tuam appointed the Prior of Innismore Bishop of Ardagh. Joseph, Archdeacon of Armagh, officiated at the consecration of the prior, but afterwards came to Armagh and told the primate that himself had been appointed Bishop of Ardagh. He obtained confirmation of his appointment at the instance of Armagh from the Bishop of Cloyne. The Bishop of Armagh died, and the Bishop of Clogher who, through simony, got himself appointed primate, possessed himself by mere force of a part of Ardagh. Its bishop, the once prior of Innismore, having died, the Archdeacon Maguiry got himself canonically appointed, confirmed, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Tuam.* But he, too, died within a year, and the intruder got possession of the episcopal property, made over some of it on R, Bishop of Meath, by whom he was defended. The Prior of Kilbixey and the canons, as in duty bound, appealed against him to the Prior of St. John's, near Dublin. He and his fellow assessors having got a commission to investigate the matter, found that Joseph was neither canonically

* *Vid Theiner, ad. an. Vet. Monum.* -

appointed nor confirmed, and quashed his appointment. This made known to the Archbishop of Armagh, in defiance of the apostolic mandate, owing to simoniacal procurations received, he again installed the intruder. The church is destitute of a pastor, and as the right has devolved on Tuam, and there being danger from the intruder, he appointed and consecrated another monk of St. Mary's, near Dublin; but the Archbishop of Armagh appointed simoniacally G, an Ardagh priest, under excommunication, as is said, and he, having an armed body, attacked and burned episcopal houses and certain fort of the Church of Ardagh, attacked the bishop and his followers preparing to celebrate the divine offices, and would have killed them if they did not take to flight. Afterwards the Archbishop of Armagh, by virtue of letters obtained from the Holy See by his predecessor, which were not used for twelve years, though he might have a copy of them, brought the Archbishop of Tuam before the Abbot of Trim, and his fellow-judges, on the same matter, obtained wrongfully a revocation of the judgment of the Bishop of Kilfenora and his fellow-judges after an appeal had been lodged by the Archbishop of Tuam. Thus the bishop has been miserably driven from his see, and sentence of excommunication hurled against him by the Archbishop of Armagh and his suffragan, the Bishop of Meath, because the latter got a part of his diocese from the intruder G. The bishop, then, not being able to prosecute his claim, came to him, the Pope, and begged he would provide for the desolate See of Ardagh. He therefore commissioned Brother Arnulf, a Minorite, to free him from excommunication for the sake of caution, having received, on oath, from the Bishop of Ardagh that he would obey the apostolic mandate if the sentence of

excommunication had been justly inflicted, and on that condition the penitentiary is empowered to summon all parties without right of appeal or report to the Pope."*

Though no documents are at hand to show directly what was the issue, we can infer that the matter was adjudged in favour of the See of Armagh; for in a few years subsequently, in the year 1252, October the 15th, the Pope wrote to Armagh to receive the resignation of the Bishop of Ardagh, and from this we may conjecture that Ardagh was subjected to the Primate. In 1516, Clonmacnois was subject to Tuam; and to pursue the fortunes of Ardagh down to the limits of this history, we learn from a statement made on oath by some in the year 1517, who were in Rome, in regard to Ardagh, that its bishop, William, in his attempt to exercise temporal power over the neighbouring inhabitants, was prevented, and that they were at war and destroyed the towns and the cathedral church, that there were no sacristy, belfry, bell, and barely the necessary requirements for one Mass, that the walls of the church scarcely stand, that while only one priest can celebrate, he seldom did so, and that the altar is under the open air. Amongst other depositions made were one to the effect that the diocese of Ross had twenty-four benefices, that William Occam, the celebrated Franciscan, was an Irishman, and that the Archbishop of Armagh was Primate of all Ireland.†

The diocese of Derry received an accession of territory about the same time, and from Clogher, as Armagh did. Though in 1158 Derry had been fixed on as the cathedral church, yet in the thirteenth century, in 1247, the Pope allowed the cathe-

* Theiner, p. 30.

† Theiner, ad an.

dral church to be established in Derry as formerly. It had been removed by O'Coffey, bishop, who sat in 1173, to Rathlure, from attachment to his birth-place. Gervase O'Carolan, who applied for the re-transfer of the cathedral church to Derry from Rathlure, states that it had formerly been so arranged when there had been question of defining the extent of the dioceses, "a limitatione diocesium Hiberniæ." I cannot agree with those who* maintain that the limitation of dioceses alluded to is referable to 1110, because, according to the best historians, there had been no allusion to Derry in the synod held at Rathbreasil in 1110. Besides, we are aware that it was only in 1158 the first ordinary bishop was appointed for Derry as a permanent see. Furthermore, it is more likely that a bishop writing to the Pope would have appealed to a decision come to by a Roman Cardinal at the Synod of Kells, in 1152, or by a Roman Legate, in 1158, than to that of a few Irish bishops in 1110. Finally, whenever mention is made of "the limitation of dioceses" in Roman documents, there is reference to what took place at or after the Synod of Kells. Thus, in 1235, the Pope, when issuing a commission for adjudicating on the relative claims of Armagh and Tuam to Ardagh, speaks of the "limits defined" by the Cardinal de Monte Coelio. So, too, when there was question of uniting Glendalough to Dublin, appeal was made to the "*limitation* of Kells by Cardinal Paparo."

A portion of Raphoe had been added to Derry about the year 1266. Ardsrath, too, originally an episcopal see, had been added to Derry about 1166. Previously it belonged for some time to Clogher.

* *I. E. Record*, May No., 1865.

The episcopal sees—Ardsrath, Derry, and Rathlure—were united then at the close of the twelfth century.

The union of Down and Connor took place in 1441. Indeed, before then, John Cely, Bishop of Down, and John of Connor, agreed that whichever of the two survived, the other would apply for the union of the sees. The Archbishop of Armagh opposed the union, and to work on the king's prejudice he represented that "it would give power to the Irish enemies in these parts." But the Pope looked to the interests of religion rather than the interests of the king.

Glendalough was actually united to Dublin about the year 1214. It had been far more extensive than Dublin. For a few years, at the close of the fifteenth century, a few bishops were consecrated for it. In 1260, the Pope of the day granted to the Archbishop of Dublin what had been granted by the King of England and confirmed by His Holiness' predecessor, the deanery of St. Mary de Peneris. It had belonged to the diocese of Coventry. It had been given to Dublin about the year 1210, and as the funds were not sufficient for the support of a dean, the deanery was abolished. The advowson was first settled by King Stephen on the church of Lichfield, but being endowed with lands by one Hugh Huose, who granted it to King John, it was granted by him to the Archbishops of Dublin, to which it remained annexed till the Reformation.*

* I take the opportunity of stating that Roman archives correspond perfectly with the national muniments. As well in reference to the deanery of Peneris as other statements, all Papal documents are borne out by the *Black Book*, or *Alan's Registry*, or *Crede Mihi*, or the *Registries of Armagh*. My remark arises from some doubt lately hinted about the genuineness of records quoted in reference to the Irish hierarchy of the sixteenth century.

With regard to Tuam, there was an effort made by its archbishops to have Mayo and Enaghdone united to it. So early as 1217, a commission was instituted by Honorius III. as to whether Mayo had a cathedral church. The Archbishop of Tuam grounded his claim on the decision of Cardinal Paparo, in 1152. The canons of Mayo maintained that the decision was obtained on misrepresentation. The Archbishop of Armagh and his fellow-judges decided in favour of Mayo. However, now again, in 1217, Pope Honorius III. instituted another inquiry. The delegates appointed to inquire into the matter were the Bishop of Clogher, the Abbot of St. Mary of Kells, in Meath, and the Archdeacon of Ardagh. The elect of Mayo was often refused consecration by the metropolitan, and so it was kept vacant from time to time. On the death of its bishop, the archbishop of the day endeavoured to incorporate it with Tuam. These disputes occurred especially under Archbishops Florence M'Flin, Thomas O'Connor, Stephen de Fulburn, William Birmingham, and Malachy M'Æda. During nearly two hundred years, from 1231 to 1428, I met with no bishop of Mayo, and from this I infer that the Archbishop of Tuam succeeded in keeping it vacant, and attaching it to his archdiocese.

The regards of the archbishops were directed from time to time to Enaghdone. In the year 1303 a bishop was elected, but could not get consecration from his metropolitan. All the episcopal paraphernalia, mitre, crosier, cross, &c., were removed at his instance from Clare Convent, county Galway, to Tuam. Yet this did not prevent the succession of bishops in Enaghdone or Galway.* No doubt some decrees

* See Appendix QQ.

were made by the Pontiff with a view to union of the sees, but were not acted on. Pope John XXII., in 1327, declared that he would unite to Tuam the bishoprics of Killala and Enaghdone on the death of their presiding bishops; but the union did not take place. Enaghdone had often been kept vacant for a century prior to its election into a wardenship, and in point of fact had been united to Tuam for some time, when the Archbishop Joyce, because finding the union troublesome, as for other reasons, parted with it in 1484.

The dioceses of Waterford and Lismore were united in 1363. Even so early as 1219, the Pope had appointed delegates to examine the claims put forward by the Bishop of Waterford to the see of Lismore. In the letter written to the delegates, Pope Honorius III. states that he learned from archbishops and bishops at the General Council of Lateran, held in 1215, that the claims of Waterford were unfounded, though its bishop had usurped the see of Lismore. During the pontificate of John XXII., he gave directions that the sees could be united in the person of either (the survivor) of the then presiding prelates. However, on the death of Nicholas of Waterford, who lived when the union was decreed by Pope John, the chapter elected Richard as successor, though John of Lismore* was living, and who, according to Papal arrangements, was to have governed Waterford. More than that, on the death of Richard, Roger of Landaff was appointed by Clement VI. So, too, had John of Lismore a successor in the person of Thomas le Reve, Bishop of Lismore separately, who, on the

* Pope Urban V. states that John Leynagh was ruling the Church of Limerick in 1337, on the death of Nicholas.

translation of Roger of Landaff, succeeded to the possession of both sees in 1363.

In 1431, Cork and Cloyne were united in the person of Bishop Jordan, who had been first Bishop of Cloyne. Like the other archbishoprics originally, that of Cashel had been comparatively poor and small. Its union with Emly did not take place for a considerable time after the period embraced by this work. However, so early as the year 1260, it laid claim to several places disputed by the Bishop and Chapter of Lismore, some churches and monasteries in Clonmel, the abbeyes of Suir and of Donaghmore, Lisrodrach, Ballinamona, Killagan, Devilla Adelaghelas, de Clochwl, de Kalmororussan, de Ruchronan, de Kileronachtin, de Kilsilan, de Killoolwm (William?), de Tacheyny, de Balliydina, de Kilrodan, de Kilcassi, de Magherhechyr, de Semiwrenan, de Athnagurbad, de Maclery, de Tachyinfathen, de Ballyncraten, de Athenry, de Karrec, de Novevilla, de Simian, de Tybrachna, de Villa Ademarcel, de Ballilegan, de Lochluacræ, de Villa Adekarmerdun, de Nenan, de Tulachmolán, de Molacha, de Ardfenan, de Gerard, de Ratherdunesk, de Killyinlach, de Hotherath, in the cantred of Ywoghyn, and half the cantred of Yffatbeatha (Iffaaha?). The commissioners appointed by the Pope were the Bishop of Kilmacduagh and the archdeacons of the same and of Mayo. The archbishop hurled excommunication against those who claimed the above places. Even while an appeal was lodged to Rome the excommunication was launched, which would show that the decision was in favour of the archbishop; but, because he slighted the appeal, the Pope declared his excommunication null. The Pope wrote to the Bishops of Ferns and Ossory, and gave them powers and a commission to adjudicate on the

matter. In doing so he mentioned that the Prior of Kells and of St. John (Kilkenny), and the Abbot of Geripoint had been previously commissioned to judge of the matter; but instead of doing so they subdelegated the Bishop of Kilmacduagh and the archdeacons of that see and of Mayo. At last the Cardinal Priest of St. Laurence was commissioned to investigate the matter, and restrain the excesses of the archbishop, and relieve the Bishop of Lismore from the excommunication.

The diocese of Killaloe underwent but little change since the twelfth century. During the latter half of that century the old see of Roscrea was united to it. That see comprised the present baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit, in the King's County, and those of Ikerrin and Eliogarty, in Tipperary. In the year 1280, Matthew O'Hogan, Bishop of Killaloe, exchanged the manor of Roscrea, at the request of King Edward, for the manor of Galroeston, comprising three ploughlands and $84\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or, according to others, for the town of Gylroth, Clonelan, and Stathedan, besides the acres before-mentioned, all in Dublin county; and all this was again exchanged, in 1428, with Fitz Reuher, for the lands of Hamonston, in Limerick. Some state that Charles O'Heney, about the year 1195, was the last Bishop of Scattery; but he, much less O'Beachain, who died in 1188 was not the last Bishop of Scattery.*

In the year 1360, Pope Innocent VI. addresses his venerable brother, Thomas, Bishop of Scattery, in the following terms:—"As the church of Scattery had been widowed of a pastor, we have turned our attention to you, distinguished by many shining

* Monck Mason, Dr. O'Donovan, followed by Mr. Lenihan and others, make O'Beachain the last Bishop of Scattery. In 1290, Thomas le Chaplain was guardian, after Richard, at Scattery. It contained eleven churches.

virtues, and by advice of our brethren have appointed you bishop. Afterwards we commissioned our venerable brother the Bishop of Preneste to consecrate you. Therefore, we command you to betake yourself to that see with our benediction, that the odour of your good works may be spread far and near, and that the said church may have reason to congratulate itself by reason of your prudent conduct."

In 1195, according to Ussher, the possessions of Iniscathy were divided between Limerick, Kerry, and Killaloe; and, according to Ware, Iniscathy itself was annexed to Killaloe, and, according to Harris, it formed a part of Clare or Killaloe. Most naturally, because the island is within a mile of the parish of Kilrush, in Clare. It is distant some five or six miles from Kerry, and upwards of forty miles from Limerick. So situated then, who could doubt that Scattery, comprising only 100 acres in extent, would be given to Clare? and so Ware assures us. In the year 1361, 2nd July, Pope Innocent VI. commissioned the Archbishop of Cashel to report on Iniscattery, whether it was a cathedral church, whether it had a city, if there were other bishops, and who were they before the present Thomas. This inquiry arose from complaints made by the Bishops of Killaloe, of Ardfert, and of Limerick. They wrote jointly and severally to the Pope, and represented Iniscathy as a *parochial church*. They laid several crimes to the charge of its bishop, Thomas, and interfered with his exercise of episcopal authority. It must be borne in mind that the jurisdiction of St. Senan, who flourished in the sixth century, extended over Scattery, over the opposite coast of Kerry, and along towards Limerick, on either side of the Shannon. His successor, Thomas, intended to exercise and did exercise his jurisdiction over portions of the three

dioceses. And this is put beyond a shadow of doubt by the signature of a fourth complainant, the Bishop of Cloyne. What had he to do with the matter? St. Senan founded the monastery of Iniscarra, in the diocese of Cloyne. On that account all the foundations of his saintly predecessor, and all over which his jurisdiction extended, were claimed by Thomas, the bishop. Hence the opposition of the Cloyne bishop, to whom Iniscarra belonged: not that he had an idea of claiming a sod of the 100 acres of Scattery, hundreds of miles away. Hence, likewise, the opposition of Limerick, which had St. Senanus as one of its patrons. Well, before his report was drawn up, the Archbishop of Cashel died. On that account, Pope Urban V. wrote a letter dated from Avignon, June 24th, 1363, and addressed to Thomas, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford, alluded to the inquiry made by his predecessor, and to the death of the Archbishop of Cashel, and repeated the same inquiry. So far as regards the period previous to the supposed grant of Bishop O'Dea, who ruled from 1400 to 1426: let us now come down to 1577, and we will find that Scattery, at least civilly, did not belong to Limerick. In the October of that year, Queen Elizabeth replied to a request made by Conor, Earl of Thomond. He had asked for and received the abbey-lands of Clare, Ennis, Quin, Inch, Termon-Senan, Termon-Tolloughe, Termon-Mynough, and Termon-Shenoway. All belonged to Thomond. He asked also for Iniscarts, on pretence that he would convert it into a fish-town; but Her Majesty answered: "Because we suppose it to be within the river Shannon, and of some importance to the city of Limerick, we have thought good to be advised therein." Here, then, it appears that Scattery is supposed not to belong to Limerick, or to have be-

longed to it; nor was it till 1583 that it was made over on the corporation of Limerick.

In the year 1583, Daniel Neylan, rector of Iniscathy, in the diocese of Killaloe, according to Ware, was consecrated Bishop of Kildare.

Later still, in the year 1599, a deed was drawn up between Dr. Werth, Protestant Bishop of Killaloe, and Tieve M'Ghillcaunana, Prior of Scattery, which shows that the island was claimed then by the diocese of Killaloe.

So, too, by turning to the Rolls of Chancery, we find that in July the 1st, 1625, Richard Carye was presented to the rectory of Kilrush, *alias* Ineskettle, *in the diocese of Killaloe*.*

The annexation of Iniscathy to the diocese of Killaloe would appear to have been favoured by the limitations defined for the boundaries of dioceses by the old synod of Rathbreasil. The boundaries of Killaloe and those of Limerick are clearly laid down, and Iniscathy is almost certainly included within the former, while it is necessarily excluded from the latter;† and coming down to the present century, about the year 1812, we learn that the then parish priest of Kilrush refused to accept jurisdiction from the Bishop of Limerick for Iniscattery, as if he did not need it more than his predecessors, who, he maintained, had exercised from time immemorial jurisdiction over Scattery as a part of the diocese of Killaloe. Therefore, writers contend that “as it was 600 years in relation to the diocese of Killaloe, such is Iniscathy at present, and it is likely to continue so unless from some great commercial or political change, at present unforeseen, Kilrush become

* Morrin's *Pat. and Close Rolls*.

† *Vid.* Keating's MS. Hist., T.C.D.

a packet-station—an Irish New York—and Brooklyn be reproduced on the island of Cathay.”*

Furthermore, the claim of the diocese of Killaloe to Iniscathy is fully supported by an entry in the Chancery Rolls.† It states that about the year 1578, “a man named Stritch paid a certain sum for Iniscathy to the Bishop of Limerick; that Mahon, called the Black Bishop, was the last Bishop of Iniscathy, about 100 years ago; and that by usurpation or some means its temporalities and spiritualities were lost.” Here the certain possession of Iniscathy by Mahon O’Griffy, who was Bishop of Killaloe from 1463 to 1483, is clearly established.

While, then, strong reasons are adduced for claiming for Killaloe Iniscathy since its extinction as an independent diocese, there are not wanting arguments to show that it belonged to Limerick, and that only a portion of it, if any at all, belonged to the diocese of Killaloe. So late as the year 1801, the Bishop of Limerick, owing to the difficulty or impossibility of attending to the wants of the people of Scattery, which he claimed as his own, delegated jurisdiction for it to the priest of Ballylongford, on the opposite side of the Shannon. I do not know that the claim was admitted by Killaloe, but it is pretty certain that the claim to Scattery was made then and during the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Bishops of Limerick.‡

We saw before that in the fourteenth century the Bishop of Limerick co-operated with the Bishop of

* *Vid.* an article by the author in the October No., 1874, of the “Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.”

† My attention has been drawn to the above entry through the kindness of Mr. Hennessy, of the Record Office.

‡ See Lenihan’s *History of Limerick*.

Killaloe in opposing the revival of Scattery as an independent see. This need not mean more than that the bishop wished to retain, not Scattery, but portions of Hy-Figinte, in the diocese of Limerick, which formerly owned the jurisdiction of Scattery.

But proof is forthcoming in the next century that Limerick claimed not only the dependencies of Iniscathy, but even Iniscathy itself. Under the year 1408, September 26th, there occurs a curious entry in reference to Iniscathy:—The Reverend Father in Christ, Nicholas Fitzmorris, elected Bishop of Ardfert, in Ireland, by respectable men, D. Maurice, the son of Robert, rector of the parochial church of Ryndbarry, of Ardfert diocese, and by Alan Lynch, guardian of the collegiate church of *Iniscathy, in the diocese of Limerick*.*

In a few years later there turns up a no less clear and fuller entry which establishes the claim of Limerick to Iniscathy. I take it from the *Black Book of Limerick*, of which the following is a literal translation:—

“The church of Iniscathy, whose rector is precentor, and whose community is *Regles* of (Regular Canons). The precentor presents a vicar at Iniscathy, and appoints a guardian to the convent there at his good pleasure, for the purpose of receiving the ecclesiastical fees, and confers xii. portions on the south side, and corrects the excesses of the portionary clergy, who, though they in point of fact reside in the diocese of Ardfert, ought by right reside personally in the conventual church of the diocese of Limerick. And I, . . ., † Bishop of Limerick, have

* Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., pp. 52-53.

† The *White MSS.* give Cornelius O'Dea as the name of the bishop. It may have been legible in the seventeenth century, but now it is not. Cornelius was consecrated in the year 1400.

enfeoffed Mr. Gilbert O'Cathail, once vicar there, with the lands belonging to the church of Limerick, in the island of Iniskathi, which I have recovered by inquisition made by me, and which have not been in possession of the Church for many years.

“The form of enfeoffment is this, viz., that Mr. Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, must pay to me and my canonical successors yearly *xiii*d. as an annual rent—one half, to wit, at Easter, and the other on the feast of St. Michael; and that on the first night I or my successors shall put in to said island, they must give us refreshment in eatables and drinkables and all other necessaries; and as long afterwards as I or my successors shall tarry there, they are to supply us with fire, light, and straw at their cost, and to convey to us by water, at our own expense, but in their boats, and at their trouble, victuals from Limerick and other outlying villages of our said diocese, and from Iniscathi, in like manner, to all our manors of Lesamkyle, Drumdile, Mungret, and Lymerick.”*

This entry is probably assignable to the year 1418, and though the document on canonical grounds affords some reason for questioning† it, yet on a careful perusal, I have no hesitation in pronouncing it genuine and authentic.

Scattery had been disputed more than a hundred thousand acres of unhistoric soil. On its margin grappled the board-bottomed vessels of roving pirates with the *currach* of the Gael. On it the sword of the Viking bickered with the *skean* of the Irish

* *Vid.* App. NN.

† See from the author in two articles, “Iniscathy since the Twelfth Century,” in the Irish Archæological and Historical Association of Ireland, in the April and October Nos., 1874.

kerns. On it the continental and Irish schools of asceticism met, when troops of holy pilgrims came to St. Senanus. On its moral and physical features it bears traces of a rich historic past. Its round tower and seven churches, the *bed* of St. Senanus, the holy well, the sea-monster, Cathay, killed by St. Senanus, but living in legendary story of Oriental imagery, the many bright lights over saintly Erin, paling before the bright, beautiful blaze from Scattery, as seen in vision by St. Cannera, mark it out as richer in associations and more fraught with interest than a whole province cut off from the past.

We cannot surely claim for a diocese whatever benefices might have been possessed by its subject in another diocese. Doubtless, a bishop might have profited by the wealth and influence derivable from possessions under another bishop. Even in several dioceses these benefices were often held by the same person. Merit of any kind was a motive for allowing pluralities. As a remarkable instance, I mention John de Hothum of Dublin. In the year 1312, he was indulged in a plurality of benefices in the archdeaconry of Glendalough, from which, however, he did not receive in five years through others more than £60. He had Radoni, Ronlay, Kirkebi in Ashfield and Contingham. He possessed parochial churches in Wales, Dublin, Ossory, York, Leighlin, Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Kildare, in Coventry, Lichfield. In the two last he enjoyed partly canonries and prebends, and partly parochial churches. Well, because he resigned these, worth £240, he was allowed to have benefices in Dublin, Kildare, Leighlin, Cashel, Emly, and in York. Sometimes, too, it happened that a bishop, because of his merit or poverty, was given by the Pope benefices in another

diocese; not, however, I conceive, that he could exercise diocesan jurisdiction. For instance, the Archbishop of Tuam, on his promotion in 1289, was allowed to retain for three years all the benefices in his enjoyment when promoted—Cnockgraffan, in Cashel; Moydrisue, in Killaloe; Athenry, in Tuam; and Castro Coukufin, in Killala.

CHAPTER XXII.

IN addition to the dangers to the Church from the pressure from without and the relaxation from ecclesiastical discipline which characterised many of its ministers, it had to suffer, too, from the scandal of false teaching. This proceeded from the same spirit which led Fitz-Ralph astray in the last century. It proceeded from a spirit of hostility to the Mendicant Orders. The writings of the Dean of Dublin were in themselves very objectionable; and even had they been less questionable, a strong prejudice entertained against him at Rome would have rendered them open to suspicion. To put an end to the great schism in the Universal Church about the choice of a Pope, the Council of Constance met in 1417. At this council attended John Ragged, who gained a high reputation. He was Bishop of Cork.* The Archbishop of Armagh and Snell, Bishop of Ossory, were represented by a proctor, William Purcell.† The election of Martin V. as Pope at the council may be said to have crushed the schism. In order to the union of the Greek to the Latin Church, the successors to Pope Martin found it necessary to call a council at Florence. The council was continued or removed to Basle. Here,

* Robert FitzHugh presented himself at the council for confirmation in the archdiocese of Armagh, but he was set aside.—*Swayn's Register.*

† The English deputies claimed precedence of the French on the strength of the antiquity and glories of the Irish Church.—*Ussher, Hib. Dom.*

in the absence of the Pope or his representative, some propositions temerarious or disrespectful to the Holy See were maintained by the Bishop of Basle.* The Irish Church naturally shared in the misery of the schism. In the year 1423, the Archbishop of Canterbury is instructed by Martin V. to proceed against the Archbishop of Dublin, Bishop of Ferns, and other prelates for favouring schism. We are not to be surprised that inferior ecclesiastics shared the views of their superiors. In the year 1456, Calixtus III. states: "That the highest character had been given of the orthodoxy and purity of the life of Philip Norris, yet owing to the importunate instance of the Minors, his rivals, falsely asserting you strayed from the orthodox Catholic faith, especially during the Council of Basle, you were summoned by your rivals, and imprisoned by order of King Henry VII. of England, believing you contumacious and condemned of heresy; and since the sentence was promulgated by Nicholas V. in said council for the preservation of union in the Church, you wished to have it revoked, and to have restored to you all your rights; looking to your innocence of life and the gifts with which you are endowed, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to see to the execution of the mandate in favour of Norris, priest of Dublin."† The errors attributed to Norris may be summed up in seventeen propositions: 1st. "As the walls of Jerusalem," he said, "were destroyed by four armies, so the Church of God shall be destroyed by four mendicant orders. 2nd. As

* Amongst other propositions one maintained that a general Council was superior to the Pope, and that he was fallible.

† In 1413, the Archbishops of Dublin, Tuam, Cashel, and Armagh were written to, and directed to apprise their suffragans of the Council of Pisa, convened for the purpose of putting an end to the schism, and to attend thereat.

the chief tax-gatherer came to Jerusalem with fair words under a treacherous heart, so have the four said orders come into the Church with the like treachery, in order to destroy, to the utmost of their power, the Church of God. 3rd. As the same persons came to Jerusalem with great crowds to create disturbance, so there has been a rush of the four orders into the Church to disturb it. 4th. As the Gabaonites came to Joshua with lies, so have the mendicant orders come into the Church. 5th. There were held four councils, and in them many were condemned for divers heresies, but the mendicants were worse than such heretics. 6th. The four mendicant orders were thieves, robbers, and robbers of the sanctuary. 7th. The brothers of the mendicant orders are of the vilest character. 8th. They are ravening wolves. 9th. They are worse than the traitor Judas. 10th. They are antichrists, and directly against Christ. 11th. They are disciples of Mahommed. 12th. No man or woman of any parish can come to a friar for the seeking of confession without leave of the parish priest or curate; because the said friar may act, or profess to act, according to that form of law whose chapter begins with the word 'Lately,' &c.* 13th. Whoever confesses to friars admitted according to the above form, are obliged to repeat the self-same sins in confession to the parish priest. 14th. I firmly believe that there is not a worthy man among the mendicant orders. 15th. I doubt if the friars be priests, or have received the priestly character. 16th. I would be unwilling to abide by any decision, even from the Pope, unless from a general council. 17th. No priest, regular or secular, ought at all to beg."†

* *Clementine Constitutions in reference to Burial.*—Book. III.

† *Hib. Dom.* p. 58.

Their extravagance rendered these propositions harmless. They were not rendered specious by subtlety of reasoning; they could have come only from one of a distempered brain. In the year 1440, they were condemned, and again in the same year by Eugene the Fourth, who recounts the errors word for word. Nor was this the full measure of Norris' scandal. He adhered to the schismatical bishops of Basle; and in 1448, brought on himself from Pope Nicholas V. the sentence of the heaviest excommunication.*

Far different, it must be confessed, from the foolish and mischievous teachings of Norris were the decrees of the provincial councils in Armagh; and if promulgated by persons who enjoyed the confidence of the people, would have done great good. They laid down a rule of conduct for the priest and people. In the middle of the fifteenth century a provincial council held by the primate subjected to deprivation of benefice the cleric who nourished either long hair or an upper beard.† And some years before that time, a provincial council, called by Archbishop Colton, decreed that the bishop should confer holy orders three times each year, and that he should, if possible, administer the sacrament of confirmation yearly in every district: then, too, some changes were made relative to the administration of the sacrament of marriage.

* Swayn's *Register*.

† Octavian's *Register*. In 1462, a dispensation was granted to Malachy Brady and one Denis (provided they were *only* in tonsure, a preparatory step to holy orders) to nourish their hair, and at the same time to hold a benefice. This clearly proves that persons *not* in holy orders were possessed of benefices. The two above-mentioned persons also were absolved by the primate from any excommunication incurred by nourishing the hair or glib in violation of the canons.—Prene's *Register*, vol. ii. p. 173.

Provided the banns were duly proclaimed, leave was given for the solemnisation of marriage on any day, except from Palm Sunday to Low Sunday.* The custom up to that time had been not to celebrate marriages on some days of the week. So great had been the veneration for St. Bridget that the people treated her feast as a solemn festival. However, being the vigil of the festival of the Purification of the B. V. Mary, there was an obligation of abstinence. The council then allowed persons, in order to add to the solemnity of St. Bridget's festival, and for the good of the poor, to eat daintily and to be dispensed from the law of abstinence. This indulgence, however, conditioned that the feast of St. Bridget should not fall on a Wednesday, on a Friday, or on a Saturday. Otherwise there was no exemption from the law of abstinence. The council felt the more inclined to grant the indulgence, because it extended to other parts of Ireland. From the conditions made, we can see that three days in the week were at this time days of abstinence. The regularity and solemnity of the sacred offices were consulted for. Persons were ordered to abstain from servile work on Good Friday, to go to the church, and to attend the divine offices. Orders were issued that, outside Lent, there should be a commemoration of St. Patrick every week, if it were consistent with the course of offices; that the festival of St. Bridget should be celebrated as a double, in whose honour a weekly commemoration was recommended; that the offices of SS. Columba, Feghin, and Ronan should be celebrated as solemn festivals and with nine lessons; that Urban should be recognized as the legitimate Pope; and that any of the suffragan bishops who did not enforce an excommunication incurred by a

* Low Sunday was the Sunday after Easter.

violation of the faith, ecclesiastical immunity, or of enormous crimes, fell himself into the same censure. However, of course, the right of appeal remained. The demand of tribute, under any name, from ecclesiastics or their tenants was strictly prohibited. Nor did the council forget, in deference to Anglo-Irish prejudices, to decree punishments against harpers, poets, and beggars.*

There was one curious canon, however, which proves as well with what force and tenacity an evil custom keeps its ground, as the truth of the saying from the great Bossuet: "That there is no error which was not, in some way, founded on a misunderstood truth.† One meets with a superstitious belief and practice, the former of which, at least, has kept its ground after five hundred years. The Church raised its voice against it. Its ministers met and condemned the opinion which maintained it to be otherwise than unlawful and perverse to hunt a hare on Good Friday, with the conviction that its blood was an efficacious cure of any disease. Furthermore, the sentence of excommunication was denounced against anyone, of whatever condition, who on that day hunted especially a hare. As though before its condemnation by the Church an abuse or superstitious practice had no existence, writers in hostility to Catholic truth are too unsparing of their censure of that Church for her condemnatory decrees.‡ If the Church does not deem it prudent publicly to raise her voice against abuses, the fiercest invectives are

* Swayn's *Register*, vol. i. Whoever did not provide himself with a copy of the council's decrees was fined three shillings.

† The saying appears to have been borrowed from St. Augustine: "Nulla falsa doctrina est quæ non aliqua vera intermisceat."—Hom. Lib. II. Quæst. Ev. E. 40.

‡ Hallam (Middle Ages) and others.

poured out against it. Whether it praises or whether it censures, there is no escape from blame. But how problematical soever to the mind of Protestants the existence of the abuse on hare-hunting might be in the absence of legislation on it, I believe the same cannot be said by the boldest in reference to what followed in the canons. Hurling became an object of legislation. And though bishops never legislated on it, that hurling would still be in use can scarcely be a matter of doubt. This canon then went on to say that, because of an illicit sport, called a "goal," or hurling, on Easter Monday and Tuesday, much quarrelling and murders took place: We forbid any person to hurl on these days especially, or in Easter week, under pain of excommunication.*

At this time, too, were witnessed practices which, if not then, afterwards ran into great abuses. It became the duty of the Church in the seventeenth century, and in the nineteenth, to denounce them in the strongest language.† Wakes became often in Ireland scenes of drunkenness, and indecency, and obscenity.

John Blake, among many charitable donations, in 1420, left for his burial forty shillings and a pipe of wine. And in 1440, Richard Donagh, who wished to be buried in Dublin, directed by his last will that at his wake bread and ale be given to the poor.‡

But though the decrees promulgated by the Anglo-Irish Church were marked sometimes by wisdom, yet on the whole its vitality was of that character which a worldly spirit imparts. That Church was part and parcel of a thoroughly hostile camp in an enemy's country. If the clergy met it was generally for pur-

* Swayn's *Register*.

† *Vid.* O'Renehan's MSS.

‡ *Iar. Connaught*, p. 180, *Hardiman's Miscellany*, I.A.S., i., iii.

poses of earthly attack or defence ; for levying forces or contributions, rather than for enforcing ecclesiastical discipline and the reformation of the people. John Swayn, Archbishop of Armagh, gave spiritual indulgences to anyone who would rescue Nicholas Chamberlain.* The Anglo-Irish Church, without any gain to faith or sound discipline, appeared too prone to check the prejudices and the customs of the old Irish. And even when there had been question of righting abuses, that Church, while lynx-eyed to those among the Irish, was blind to those of its own people. In the year 1441, O'Donnell, Prince of Tyrconnell, for seizing the vacant see of Raphoe, was excommunicated by the Primate of Armagh. Through the latter also a war from O'Neil was precipitated on him. Of course it was well that those endowments made to the Church for charitable purposes should have been applied to their destined uses. But it should be borne in mind that English monarchs never nominated till the Reformation to the ancient see of Raphoe.† On the voice of the dynast of Tyrconnell, subject to the approval of the bishop, an appointment to the see depended. If the primate then showed the same firmness and zeal in dealing with the English monarch in the management of the revenues of vacant sees—which he or his ancestors never endowed—as he did against the native princes, the Irish Church would have fared better. What above all rendered the Anglo-Irish powerless for good was its dependence on the English Government. The advice of that Church to the natives was received with suspicion ; its threats were received with defiance. So far were the natives from receiving the law from the Anglo-Irish Church, that

* Swayn's *Register*.† Sir J. Davis's *Hist. Rel.*

they dictated terms to it—in fact they levied on it “black mail.”

Hence, on the 18th of June, 1458, an agreement was entered into between the primate on one hand and Odo O’Neil on the other. The latter pledged himself to be subject to the primate ; not to molest him or any of his officials in their visitations, or any person on his way to the primate in Armagh ; to execute the commands of the primate ; to be accountable for the revenues due of the tenants of the Church, though even his own cousins, sons, or brothers were in question ; not to visit with fine or arrest concubinaries, † since their correction was claimed by the primate, and to make good any injury done to the primate. This, after all, was only what an obedient child of the Church had a right to do. But for these services the primate undertook to give O’Neil an equivalent. He submitted to pay to him annually two dozen of English common cloth on the feast of St. John Baptist, three measures of fine cloth, ‡ and a dozen of common cloth. Besides, at every Christmas, a dozen of common cloth was promised.§ Nor was it merely with the great lords the primate was brought to make terms. To enjoy a peaceful reign he had

* We learn that some time before this, Primate Colton, during a visitation, on arriving with his retinue at the village of Ardstraw, called before him the vicar and erenach of the place, and gave his orders to them to make a speedy provision for his men and horses. Besides, he enjoined to have a sufficient watch placed for the protection of his person and goods. They attended to his orders, and procured a supply of bread, butter, milk, meat, straw, and corn. This was done at the expense of the residents and erenach. And a diligent watch was kept through the several parts of the village, especially round the house of the archbishop.—*Primate Colton’s Visitation*, Reeves.

† *Personas focarias*.

‡ I am at a loss to know whether “*virgata*” meant a yard ; I therefore call it a measure.

§ *Prene’s Register*, vol. i., p. 24.

to treat with the mass of his subjects. In the year 1444, a stipulation between both bargained that he would defend his subjects, English and Irish, to the utmost of his power; that on the death of a native who left no surviving relative by father or mother, his lands should go, not to the Church, but to the nearest and most useful neighbour to the deceased in Armagh. To this agreement, however, a condition was appended—that the neighbour should have been recommended by the citizens. Furthermore, the primate promised that, on the death of any “native,” his relative, by father or mother, among the Irish, and not a cleric or laic among the English, shall receive a grant of the lands of the deceased. All the responsibilities of the deceased, however, devolved on his successor in the property.*

While the Anglo-Irish Church showed little respect for the prejudices, and less for the interest, of the Irish, and appeared so much the creature of the State that its best lessons were disregarded, the Irish Church presents a rather favourable contrast. Not that perfection may be claimed for it. As a matter of course it must have been affected by the current of events. They were of a stirring distracting nature—not calculated to leave the Church at peace. They were very calculated to unfit it for working out its mission. Hence, occasionally the Irish ecclesiastic figured in the bloodiest affray. The annals for 1444, after stating that there had been a great controversy on or about Easter, proceed to describe how Bishop M’Loughlan could not receive advice; but without a night’s delay marched a part of his sept against another branch of the same sept. The result was the defeat and death of the bishop and of his two brothers.†

* Prene’s *Register*, vol. i., p. 12.

† Dudley M’Firbis.

But on the whole it is a great relief to find that the Irish ecclesiastics, much as they sympathised with and moderately helped on every rational movement for independence, did not, as the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, take a leading part in murderous onslaughts. And while the conduct of the Irish ecclesiastics contrasted favourably with that of the Anglo-Irish, the parallel holds good with regard to the laics. In vain do we look for that undying hatred—that war to the death, which we find the Anglo-Irish avowing. There was nothing to prevent the natives from speeping into the sea the comparatively few strangers from the four counties occupied by them.* Very far am I from saying that their forbearance was the result of moderation. It was the result of selfish policy, which made natives forget the national cause. It was forgotten if their own interests were secured. Sometimes, whenever especially there was danger of extirpation to the whole sept or to the Irish language, a temporary union sprung up.† But all this shows that there had been no such burning hatred as to prompt to a war of extermination. The recovery of their former possessions by the Irish arose in a great measure as well from the drain on the people and lords to the French wars as from the wars of the Roses. And, even under the excitement of war and in the flush of victory, the religious susceptibilities of the Irish were unmistakable. They met the foe near the Abbey of Leix, and killed several men of note. Two hundred men who could not save themselves by their valour or flight found refuge under the shadow of the monastery of Leix.‡

Such acts of moderation were undoubtedly great triumphs of religion ; and, indeed, they will appear

* Sir John Davis. † Leland, B. III. ‡ Marlborough.

such if we consider that there was great temptation to the Irish to retaliate; that they were treated as aliens in their own land; that they were denied the benefit of English law: that, in fine, in this very century, they were refused leave to emigrate. Beyond question a spirit of self-denial in a highly spiritual sense strongly marked the Irish character. Impelled by a thoroughly religious spirit, they sought, through much fatigue and danger the most famous places of pilgrimage. The pastor led the way. The bishop laid aside the crosier and the prince his pomp, and the people in crowds followed. O'Hedigan, Bishop of Elphin, with many more clergymen, went to Rome, and there, in 1444, died.* And, as though they had not suffered much at home from an implacable foe to their race and name for centuries, many in the following year went on a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella. Tomultuach O'Connor, King of Moylurg, went, and Margaret, the daughter of O'Carroll, M'Gheoghan, the Prince of Kinel Fiacha M'Neill, and O'Driscoll Oge, and many more. The Irish founded religious houses and then peopled them. The poor found food and comfort there, of which the high-born were the dispensers. In 1421, O'Connor took the monastic habit; and in the following year O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, assumed the friar's cowl. In 1439, O'Hara, Lord of Sligo, renouncing the lordship, entered religion. In 1435, M'Guire, Lord of Fermanagh, taking orders, left the world for the love of God. In 1447 Finola, daughter of O'Connor Faly, the most illustrious, beautiful woman of her time, in the words of the annalist, "illustrious as she was, entered the convent of Kilachry." What a soothing influence must not

* *Annals of the Four Masters.*

their example have shed on society! They were produced in every part of this country.

A decision of John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, in reference to the colidæi or culdees will form an episode in this chapter. Large treatises have been written on the name and offices of culdee.* But their only effect has been to perplex a very plain matter. The word is mentioned for the first time in our annals about the beginning of the ninth century. Whether derived from the Latin, or more probably from the Irish, all agree in making the "culdee" signify a man devoted to God. Much doubt as has been raised about the origin of the name, still more has been expressed in reference to the nature of his office. But to any sober inquirer after truth there need not be a shadow of doubt that the culdees were secular canons, who served as chapters to cathedrals. Owing to the attachment of the Irish to their old customs and religious orders, the latter were not replaced at once by the regular canons. Even down to the seventeenth century the culdees continued in the church of Armagh. For this we had up to the present to rely on the authority of Ussher; but, in looking into the *Antiphonary of Armagh*, his testimony is found corroborated by the clearest evidence.†

* Some derive the word from the black cowl pretended to have been worn, called in Irish "Cúil ou'b," Hence culdee. Others with greater probability bring it from "Ceile De," i.e., who serves God.

In England the culdees received a title from the place where they officiated. For instance, they were called "Clergymen of St. Paul's, York." Their being so designated in England, and called culdees in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, coupled with the fact that the Popes in alluding to them say that they are vulgarly called "culdees," point as a matter of certainty to a Celtic origin.—*Vid. Registries of Armagh*, Swain's especially.

† One M'Gilla, a name very closely connected with the priesthood, is frequently mentioned as belonging to the colidæi.—1596, *Antiphonary of Armagh*.

Monks, or even unmarried men leading a religious life, may have been called "colidæi" in some places; but surely in Ireland generally the culdees, properly so called, were secular canons.* Skill in music as well as a taste and fitness for conducting the divine offices were the distinguishing qualifications required in a culdee.† But a question arose whether the office of a culdee constituted a benefice, and so excluded another benefice. The Archbishop of Armagh decided that the office did not involve a cure of souls, and consequently did not preclude the possession of a benefice. However, for the enjoyment of a benefice, residence in Armagh was required. The first place at table and at the divine offices was assigned to the prior of the colidæi. For the sake of precaution, not that it was necessary, the prior issued a dispensation for holding at the same time the office of culdee and a benefice. In 1447, another decision was given. In confirmation of a former one, it decided that the office of culdee did not imply the

* Hector Bœtius says that, up to his time, all priests were called culdees (lib. 6), but that really and originally only monks were so called. However, Dempster (apparatus to History of Scotland) maintains that they were neither monks nor secular canons but canons regular. A far higher authority than either, Du Cange, says, and he is borne out by an irresistible mass of evidence, that the culdees were secular canons; they served the cathedral churches; had the privilege of electing a bishop. But in no other sense were they independent of bishops.—Du Cange, *sub voce*. In the year 1297, they made a stand in Scotland for their privilege of electing a bishop. They appealed to Rome, were defeated, and, on the election of a new bishop, were totally deprived of their privileges. The mystery around the culdees was for long caused by those who wished to perplex their origin. Because of the supposed independence of episcopal authority on the part of the culdees, an unmerited importance and charm had been flung around them by those of a presbyterian bias.

† The prior of the colidæi was canon chorister at Clogher. Gilchreest M'Edigan, vicar of St. Patrick's, Elphin, and one of the choir, died.—Dudley Firbis, *Annal. Four Mast.*, ad an. 1463.

cure of souls. That the term *culdee* had not a Latin root is evident from the fact that the Popes, when speaking of the culdees, say that they were commonly or vulgarly so called *colidæi*. In Scotland especially they brought great trouble on themselves for the tenacity with which they clung to the privileges once conceded to their body. Rather than yield to the *regular* canon they incurred the sentence of excommunication.

The keledei were servants of God, who observed a religious rule of life. It has been fashionable to represent them as an order of holy men, whose institute was at variance with the discipline of the Church, and whose spirit of independence defied the authority of the Roman Pontiff. The history of the order in Ireland gives but little countenance to such theories. It need not be denied that, as in other countries, there had taken place relaxation of discipline; and on that account, in the Irish Church as elsewhere, steps were taken to have them replaced by the regular canons of St. Augustine in the twelfth century.

The term chele-De, or servant of God, in its original use was of a very comprehensive character,* but as designating a distinctive order in the ninth and tenth centuries in cathedral churches, it represented only secular canons who ministered in cathedral churches. The occasional abuses amongst them in the Irish Church, but still more the opposition given by them in other countries to ecclesiastical authority, principally in Scotland, have led writers to claim for them a practical disbelief in Papal authority.

Such writers, who ought to know better, should remember that whatever independence of authority

* Reeves on *The Culdees*. *Deicolam* vel *Amadeum* vel *Ceile De*. Colgan, *Acta SS.*, xi. March.

was exhibited by them appeared only when they were being set aside.

So early as the year 1147, Pope Eugenius III. determined to replace the keledei by canons regular, and the like determination, with more or less emphasis, was expressed in the course of the next century by several succeeding pontiffs. While the same reasons did not everywhere exist for the suppression of the order, prudential considerations, moreover, in particular cases prevented the Popes from rigidly carrying out their provisions; and on this some groundlessly maintain that the keledei survived, not by the sufferance, but in defiance of Rome ever since the decree for their extinction in 1147 till an equally fruitless one by Innocent IV. in the year 1248.*

But the following decree by Pope Innocent IV., in the year 1253, must give a more correct idea of the circumstances under which the keledei were allowed to prolong their existence, and were tempted to bring on themselves sentence of excommunication.

Pope Innocent IV., in the year 1250, wrote to the prior and chapter of St. Andrew's, of the Augustinian Order, in reply to a statement made by them, to the effect "that, agreeably to the example set by his predecessors, Popes Lucius, Eugene, Adrian, Alexander, Lucius, Gregory, Innocent, and Honorius, he deemed it right, as the members of the keledei died off, to replace them with regular canons, and that their prebends and property should be given to the said Augustinians. But, as the prebend of one Gilbert, a keledean, in defiance of our arrangement, and in detaining the prebend, would not allow a regular canon to be substituted, we appointed our

* Reeves on *The Culdees* says: "Thus the keledei held their ground against papal as they had previously done against regal authority."

beloved sons, the priors of Kyrcham and St. Oswald, executors of our decree, and they promulgated against the same keledeans sentence of excommunication, and the Abbot of Dumferline our chaplain, and the treasurer of Dunkeld, owing to the contumacy of the keledeans, had the sentence promulgated through the churches of the city and diocese of St. Andrew.

“Our beloved sons, Brother Richard of Noffertune, a canon of said church and procurator to the said prior and chapter, and Master John Verment, a keledean of the same city, on his part, came in our presence. We gave them audience through our beloved son J., cardinal priest of the title of St. Laurence, in Lucina, and before him the said master insisted that he was not affected by the sentence of excommunication, as he did not violate the law, but, as much as possible, as an obedient son of the Church, caused it to be observed, as could be ascertained by the documents drawn up on the occasion and the testimony of the procurator; and, as a proof of this pacific disposition, he resigned into the hands of the cardinal the prebend he was receiving in the Church, though not at all obliged to do so. His resignation being received by our authority, the Cardinal conferred it with all its rights on the prior and chapter, which the keledei were known to have, and declaring the master not bound by the excommunication, but yet absolved him from it lest by chance he may have incurred it. In compliance, then, with your petition, we confirm all that has been done by the Cardinal in this matter, and confirm it by the help of the present document. To all who may see this page,” &c. Then he recounts the case as already stated, and how he commissioned the Prior of York to execute the sentence, &c.; how Master Verment, though mentioned by name in the sentence of

excommunication, was not bound by it, as he promised that not only the vacant one at present, but the other prebends, as they may become vacant, would be disposed of according to the apostolic decree; and how he then invested with a ring the prior and chapter with the rights of the keledeans. Then the witnesses to the sentence and investiture follow.

Truly it can be admitted that the keledeans did not die out at once after the sentence of excommunication. For, in the year 1253, their procurator, their superior, and chapter, and the Archdeacon of St. Andrew objected to the election of the dean made by canons regular to their contempt. The canons stated that the keledei never had anything to say to the election, nor the archdeacon from time immemorial. But they said that the archdeaconal dignity was in existence long before the canons regular, and that it remained, though the keledeans were previously to be abolished. Abel, the archdeacon, was appointed, and the dean set aside. The decision was given in favour of the keledeans.

These documents surely do not represent either the keledei as strangers and defiant enemies to the authority of Rome, or Rome as hostile and implacably eager for their extinction. As happened to many members of other religious orders, a portion of the keledei brought on themselves the thunder of excommunication, and the bolt was seen to fall with the very same feeling and effects on the keledei as on others.*

The colidæi were not monks, and yet somewhat differed from the officiating country clergy. This, perhaps not unnaturally, coupled with the fact of their standing up too obstinately for their privileges

* Theiner, ad an. 1254. *Vet. Monum.*

which had been withdrawn, though they by-and-by submitted and sued for pardon, has led superficial or prejudiced readers to think them a peculiar order of clerics independent of Rome. The culdees of the twelfth century are spoken of by Gerald Barry. "In the north of Munster," he says, "there is a lake in which are two islands, one large, the other smaller. In the former is a church held in veneration for a long time. In the smaller is a chapel, which is religiously served by a few unmarried persons, called cælicoli, or colidæi. If a woman, or any animal of the female sex, ever enter the island, death follows. But no person ever died, or dies, or can die a natural death in the smaller isle. Hence, it is called "Island of the Living"—*Inisnambeo*. Though a culdee, that is servant of God, could mean, and perhaps did mean occasionally a devout unmarried person, yet generally it designated a peculiar class of ecclesiastics. The island alluded to by Gerald Barry was situated three miles from Roscrea, in a lake called Loch-Cre. Like many other islands it has disappeared—only the name remains. And thus the surrounding bog is called Monahincha, *the bog of the island*. The patron of Inis-Loch Cre was St. Helavi. From an inquisition taken in 1568 we learn that the island contained three acres of moorland, on which stood two chapels. Confining our attention within the scope of the present history, the last notice we find of the *island of the living* (*insula viventium*, as called in papal records) is dated 1455.

CHAPTER XXIII.

UP to this time the Anglo-Irish Church, in providing the people with ministers of religion, pursued a most narrow policy. Instead of throwing open the doors of the sanctuary to the most worthy from every quarter, it jealously closed them even against the natives. By denying the validity of the Pope's appointment even to a benefice, the Anglo-Irish showed a schismatical tendency. And as if the circle from which the ecclesiastics were drawn had not been sufficiently narrow, it was made still narrower. An enactment ordained that persons should remain in the same social position in which their fathers were; and that the son of a labourer could not aspire to the dignity of the priesthood. On a church confined to three or four counties* such an enactment must have told with tremendous effect. It was the more deplorable, as even already the few churches were badly provided with priests. So anxious were the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics to live in England† that the legislature found it necessary to insist on their return to Ireland. Their absence from it was visited with mulcts.‡ Half the revenues of absent beneficiaries went to the repair and supply of churches, the other half to the expenses of war. So rigorously was the fine exacted that the few wielding the powers of government in Ireland denied even to the king the

* Cox, vol. i.

‡ *Liber Munerum, Pryne's Collection.*

† Ware, p. 75.

privilege of dispensing from it.* In such a dearth of ministers the Anglo-Irish not only shut the sanctuary against the natives, and virtually against the worthiest of the Pale, but threw all opposition in the way of an appointment by "provision." The statutes against provisors were put in execution; a consecration in violation of such statutes was visited with a fine of £20 and treble damages.† Such legislation, if continued, must have proved destructive to the Irish Church. And while it did continue, it did not fail producing the most disastrous results. Such a policy had been tried in England. The Church became a close borough. There was no accession of new strength—no infusion of fresh life from without. Hence the Commons at the close of the fourteenth century complained of decline in the universities.‡ All healthy competition being set aside, laziness and ignorance resulted. On the Anglo-Irish Church resting on a still narrower basis, with what tremendous effect must not statutes of provisors have told! Breeding in and in, transformed into an hereditary priesthood—into a "caste"—the Anglo-Irish Church promised to be only an eye-sore, a scandal to the Church of God.

But this was not all. In 1467, an act was passed in which the bishops, especially the Bishop of Meath, took a leading part. The reader must bear in mind that for some time past, during their exile at Avignon, and the schism for forty years, and by reason of their crusades against infidel princes, the Popes found themselves in embarrassment. To extricate them from it, the custom of giving first-fruits to the Pope on promotion to a living was introduced. How-

* Swayne's *Register*; *Liber Mun.*, ad. an. 1458.

† *Ibid.*, ad. an. 1454.

‡ *Commons Journal*, vol. iii., reign of Richard II.

ever, in 1467, to pay the smallest coin for receiving a bull, or according to others to receive a bull at all, was made treasonable. But while the Anglo-Irish did what was calculated to alienate the affections of the Holy See by their suicidal acts, the Pope did not forget them. He encouraged them, and helped them to the preservation of religion and learning. He suggested the idea of an university; dwelt on the ignorance of the people, on the fewness of the scholars; in a word, on the smallness of the demand, and on the large supply. In doing so he acted on the suggestion of those very good friars, whom there was an effort to crush a few years before in the city of Dublin. In furtherance of the project the Pope issued a diploma.* This, indeed, was repaying ingratitude with additional kindness. For only two years previously, Dr. Marcellus, from Rome, was forbidden to enter our country. His entrance was made felony. The Prior of Kilmainham, indeed, was allowed to receive him for three months. But to entertain him any longer on the part of the prior, or to receive him at all on the part of any other, was felonious.† *Now*, the Anglo-Irish could wish to have the Pope forgotten, not communicated with; by-and-by, as it suited their purpose, they acknowledged him to be Lord of Ireland. They met in 1467. Tiploft was governor. They reiterate that on the grant from the Pope of Ireland for a consideration its possession by them depended. In virtue of that grant, then, they decree, that all archbishops and bishops are obliged to hurl excommunication against the disobedient; and that by a neglect of such an obligation they were fineable £100.‡ They invoked the protection of the

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 194.

‡ Leland, B. III., ch. 3.

† Archdall.

Pope, while at the same time they withheld that respect which belonged to him as their liege lord and common father of the faithful. For their abject slavery to the State, and abandonment of duty, the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics got a valuable consideration. As well as this world could it repaid them. They were pensioned. They wielded full power over the temporal and spiritual estate. If the Pope could control them as ecclesiastics, they as civil functionaries, as the depositaries of royal power, may defy him. Hence the jealousy with which they guarded the management of benefices.

In 1433, Henry V. writes to the Archbishop of Dublin, and allows to him, as to his predecessors, twenty pounds for the management of the kingdom. To make the payment sure he makes over on him the manors of Tassegard and of Ballechire.* In 1480, a law was made by which the administration of justice was made to depend on the Archbishops of Armagh and of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, and on the temporal lords. And all law to the contrary, notwithstanding, the Archbishop of Dublin was empowered to present to all vacant benefices.† Then, too, the Prior of Kilmainham, whose possessions were extensive, and whose influence was unbounded and worth buying, was exempted from any burdens. Notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, he was authorized to receive grants and exempted from subsidies. The Prior of All Saints was appointed superintendent over all the conventual lands in the country. Seeing the ecclesiastical functions confined to a few individuals—and these

* *Old Rymer.—Liber Mun.* The king acknowledges himself in debt for two and a half years' salary to the archbishop, and required only £5 rent till the archbishop indemnified himself.

† Leland, B. III.

thoroughly secularised by their connexion with the State—one would be surprised if the vineyard of the Lord presented any but an unfair appearance. In 1475, at the prayer of Richard, Abbot of St. Thomas, and James Aylmer, an act was passed by which six marks were to be given to James Maddock. He was studying at the University of Oxford, and bore himself as doctor of divinity. The reason assigned for his encouragement was, that there were few able to teach and preach the Word of God.* Having sown thorns and thistles, the Anglo-Irish could not expect to reap figs.

In 1449, on the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, the crosier was seized and pledged for five marks by John Strigathen to a tailor named White. And though the next archbishop, Tregury, decreed that the Prior of Christ's Church, in whose custody it should be kept, ought to release it, still till released by Archbishop Alan, it continued for nearly eighty years in pledge.† The ecclesiastics descending from their high estate to the passions of men, received the treatment of worldlings. Disrespect and even violence were offered to the Archbishop of Dublin. Pope Pius II. issued excommunication in 1462 against those who laid violent hands on the archbishop and committed him to prison. The guilty parties were of some note. Geoffrey Harold, with his two sons, Thomas and Edmund, Patrick Byrne, Thady Shireff, Thomas Beccagh, and Robert Russell were by name excommunicated.‡ And till the guilty party came to Rome with letters of recommendation from the Bishop and Archdeacon of

* Original Rolls, quoted in Hardiman's *Statutes of Kilkenny*, p. 129.

† "I, the seventh John, at my own expense, paid 100 ounces of silver for cross and crosier."

‡ *Black Book of Dublin*.

Ossory, their absolution was reserved to the Pope. Thomas Butler, knight, afterwards Lord of Louth, falsely accused Father John Stackbull of high treason. He did so from the most selfish purposes. Twelve men on their oath found for the priest. But the irreligion of Louth was not checked. He sent his servants to rob the priest of his property. Besides they plucked out, as they thought, his tongue and eyes* As an unheard-of thing, it is mentioned that at this time there were no vespers in St. Patrick's Church, even on St. Patrick's Day; and that divine service was day after day discontinued. During the reign of Edward IV. the good people had to complain that no archbishop, bishop, parson, nor prior, high or low, except the poor friars, was found to preach and heal the disorders of the land.† The laity were not generous in their contributions to those ministers of religion, whom they foresaw would expend them either on secular pursuits or on anti-national crusades. At all events, after two years the Archbishop of Armagh could not release his bulls for consecration.‡ In 1482, Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, was applied to for the debt contracted by his predecessor. He objected to pay. However, the decision of the Pope was against him. A claim was given on the mensal lands. The parties who advanced the money were Leonardi de Vernaciis, Alexander de Bardis, John Solomei, Francis Pazzi, Florentines, and Laurence Matthei, a Roman. Again, in 1483, the successor

* He was cured by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary.—*Stat. Kilkenny*, 25.

† *State Papers*, vol. iii., and Original Rolls.

‡ *Registries of Armagh*. Edmundus quia literas apostolicas super provisum, ex manibus mercatorum quibus cas consignavi nunquam redemit.

of Sixtus wrote, and subjected the See of Armagh to the payment of the debt contracted by its former bishop. However, on the representation of the poverty of the see by the Bishop of Meath, the Pontiff modified the sentence. Half of the sum, which amounted to 11,000 florins, was to be paid in eighteen months; and the other half within the same time.*

As a matter of course we may expect unseemly disputes among the ecclesiastics themselves. Accordingly the Archbishop of Dublin is found in antagonism with the Abbot of St. Thomas. There were two churches attached to the monastery of St. Thomas. On his visitation, the archbishop insisted on proxy money from these. It was refused by John Walter and Richard Foster. However, those who had not disinterestedness enough to avoid provoking a quarrel, showed prudence in referring its decision to the Bishop of Meath. The arbitration was acceptable to both parties.

But while the heart of the Pale exhibited such unseemly contention, the southern part of the nation afforded a more edifying spectacle. The bishops met and appeared to consult only for religion and morality. Some of the regulations made at the synod held in Limerick in 1453 afford a curious picture of the times. The synod opened after the feast *ad Vincula*† on Monday. The bishops admitted the necessity of looking to the proper celebration of the divine offices on Sunday and on holidays. They agreed that the offices should be celebrated in the church on Sunday and, if possible, on every day. Before Mass and the offices on Sunday and during

* Register of Octavian, vol. ii.

† The feast fell on the first of August.

the week, the bell was to be sounded three times. The excommunicated and interdicted were excluded. Failing the ringing of the bell, fifty pence were to be paid by the exorcist and the curates to the bishop or to his official. Attendance at Mass and cessation of servile work on Sunday were enjoined under pain of excommunication. And to consult for all outward decorum, men and women, even as wives, were forbidden to the same stall together. The seventh canon, among other things, forbade any person to remain more than a day and a night with ecclesiastics. No person should visit them on a Saturday evening or a Sunday, lest there be an interference with the divine service. The ninth canon exempted all ecclesiastics and their servants from secular exactions.* Those who made exactions were excommunicated. Immunity to the person and property of ecclesiastics was established. They may not be dragged before the secular tribunals. The fourteenth canon decreed that of all the goods got from the deceased, whether through a last will or funeral by the mendicant orders, one-fourth should be given to the parochial church; and that oblations should not be given to the brothers before a division of the funeral perquisites take place. Transgressors of this decree incurred sentence of excommunication. And after legislating against the falling of church property into the hands of laics, the twenty-first canon ordained that the statutes should be read to the people four times a year; on the Sunday before Christmas, on Easter, on Pentecost, and at Michaelmas. For neglect in this particular curates were fined a noble† for each delinquency; the

* The exactions were called "conjurers," "buonnguy."

† In 1460, the English noble was 8s. 6d. The 38th of Henry VI. ordered that it should pass in Ireland; that the ducate should be 4s. 2d., the crown 3s. 2d., the bourgoin noble 6s. 8d. In 16th

ordinaries were fined thirty shillings, and the officials were fined twenty shillings. The fines of the ordinaries went to the building of churches through the hands of the metropolitan. Thirty-first canon ordained that places of refuge give shelter not to those living in them, but to those who in necessity fly to them.* The thirtieth canon said that as contentions arose between ecclesiastics and brothers of the third Order of St. Francis, that the latter do not enjoy the privileges included in the chapter "Dudum," &c., on burials, and that the same judgment is to be pronounced on the goods of such tertiaries who die as on those of *simple* laics.† The thirty-eighth decreed that a heriot from poor people living on ecclesiastical lands be paid to the bishop of the place; that there be an equal division of the money‡ between the rector and the vicar; and that the secular lords may have the cattle of the poor deceased on their lands. The seventy-seventh canon prescribes a clerical dress. A becoming coat and cap under a fine of a noble, and the loss of the unclerical dress

of Edward IV. an act was passed to fix the value of coins. The English gold royal was to pass in Ireland at 13s. 4d., the angel at 8s. 4d., the old gold noble at 12s.—Harris' *Antiq.*, p. 211.

* No protection was given to a crime already proven against one.

† Though Wilkins gives *pueris*, I have ventured to correct it into *puris*.

‡ Agreeably to Du Cange, vol. ii. (Ed. 1733) *sub voce* I have translated "cunagium," money. The whole passage is somewhat obscure. "Heriotum pauperum laicorum, in ecclesia defunctum, persolvere debere ordinariis locorum, et æqualem divisionem emolumentorium, viz. cunageorum, et hujusmodi faciendum inter rectorem et vicarium, ac dominum temporalem retine (sic) pasturæ animalium pauperum inibi degentum." The latter part, obscurely and wrongly worded, I have attempted to supply and correct in the text. *Heriot* was what the lord received at the death of the tenant. It may be money, a horse, or any other article. In the present instance there was question of the ecclesiastical slaves or "betaghs."

worn were ordered.* By the seventy-seventh canon, agreeable to the old custom in the province of Cashel the best ring, cup, and chair, as heriots, were determined to be the right of the bishops. The hundred and twentieth canon declared that if the chapter and clergy of Waterford refused to give, in pursuance of a general usage through the other dioceses, annuities or first-fruits to the bishop, censures should be employed to make them conform.†

But among the many curious canons framed at the Limerick Synod for the advancement of God's glory and the decency of religious worship, not the least important was the one touching sacred music. The taste for music displayed by the Irish in pagan times was not banished or discouraged by the appearance of Christianity. On the contrary, as the bard who struck with skill his many-stringed harp in festive halls was placed near the princes of royal birth, so, too, did the fathers in the Irish Church deem a knowledge of sacred music a recommendation to eminence among them. Hence Gerald Barry, who found fault with almost everything else, paid the highest compliment to the musical taste of the Irish. "The measure was not slow or dull as with the neighbouring nations, but lively and sweet. The fingers passed over the strings with the greatest rapidity; while at the same time they observed a marvellous musical proportion. Amid a labyrinth of shakes and intricate sounds not a note was lost. From different and apparently discordant sounds were educes time and harmony."‡ It is Gerald Barry who speaks and adds "that bishops might have been seen,

* "Gascomarcon," I suppose it to be a "soutanne."

† *Ibid.* Wilkin's *Councils*, vol. iii., p. 365 and *seq.*

‡ From the words of Cambrensis one would feel tempted to believe that counterpoint and harmony were known to the Irish

harps in hand like the Psalmist, striking them in their journeys through the country" to the praises of God. In the sixteenth century the Irish were pronounced fond and masters of music. Brilliancy and rapidity of execution, combined with wondrous accuracy, excited the admiration even of foreigners. It is no subject for marvel, then, that the bishops, assembled at Limerick, decreed that, saving the privileges of the Apostolic See, in cities and towns where singing prevailed and a choir was established, no persons unacquainted with sacred psalmody should be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity. If I mistake not, instrumental music was carried to greater perfection, at least outside the Pale, than vocal music. But at what precise time instrumental music, especially the organ, was pressed into the service of the Church I am at a loss to determine.*

The use of the organ was very common in the Irish Church during the fifteenth century. Michael Tregury, Archbishop of Dublin, bequeathed his pair of organs to St. Patrick's.† And when the Earl of Kildare was absolved from excommunication

of his day. Such an idea, however, must be rejected. To Palestrina such a revolution is due. Even in the sixteenth century the lozenge, square, and diamond notes were used.

* Strange that Bingham (B. VIII.), *de originibus ecclesiasticis*, says that organs were not known till the middle of the thirteenth century. Organs on the present principle were known during the first half of the ninth century; and steam organs were known a century before that time. A Greek epigram, written by the Emperor Julian, would appear to allude to the use of rudely contrived organs. "I see reeds of a new kind, the growth of another barren soil, such as are not agitated by our winds, but by a blast that rushes from leathern caverns beneath their roots, while a robust man, running with swift fingers over the concordant keys, makes them, as they smoothly dance, emit melodious sounds" It is certain that organs were in use in the days of Cassiodorus in the sixth century.

† His ecclesiastical spirit is no less shown by the humble bequest of five towels for the altar.—MS. E. 3, 32, T.C.D.

incurred by participation in the rebellion of Simnel Lambert, the archbishop chanted the *Te Deum*, and the choir with the organ sung it up solemnly.*

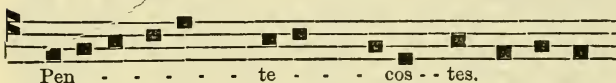
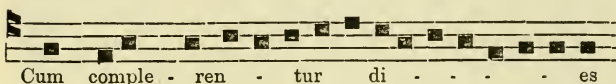
St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, says that there had been no regular ecclesiastical chant before the time of St. Malachy in Ireland. That may be very true in regard to Down or Connor, and even Armagh. For, by the invasion of the Northmen, serious interruption was given not only to the accessories, but to the essentials of divine worship. But it would be rash to infer from the words of St. Bernard that throughout all Ireland ecclesiastical chants, even in an irregular manner, had been unknown. The strains in the antiphonary of Bangor and other repositories of Irish Church music must have floated in sacred airs down the stream of time. Of course the church music introduced by St. Patrick was not the Gregorian. And to what extent that, such as it was, might have been modified by the genius of the old pagan Irish strains in the course of time it is absolutely impossible now to determine.† In the fifteenth century the Irish were accused by the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics of a neglect of the notes in the sacred offices. Whether it was that the value of the note was not given by the Irish chorister, or that the musical notation was altogether different from that of the Anglo-Irish, I am not prepared to say. At all events, the music of the latter, as all their ceremonies, breathed the spirit of the Roman

* "In battle," says Clyn, ad. an. 1319, "fell O'Carroll, the famous tympanist and harper, so pre-eminent that he was a phoenix in his art; and with him fell about twenty tympanists who were his scholars. He was called 'Caech,' because his eyes were not straight, but squinted; and if he were not the first inventor of chord music, yet of all his predecessors and contemporaries he was the corrector, the teacher, and the director." Such entries are quite frequent through the *Annals*.

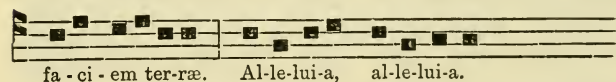
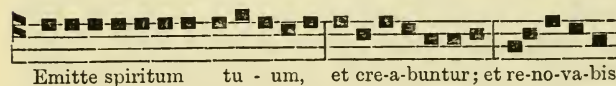
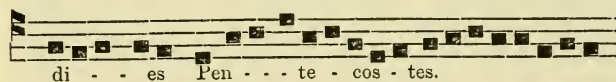
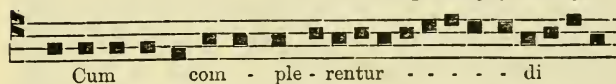
† In 1328, Maurice O'Gibelan was a canon and singer of Tuam, Elphin, and of Clonmacnois.

antiphony and ritual. There is, indeed, some accidental difference between the Roman antiphony and the antiphony of Armagh. But this accidental difference would have happened, either because the latter was only a transcript of the Salisbury *Use* in England; or because though copied from the Roman it was affected in passing through an Irish atmosphere.*

* The following is taken from the Roman antiphony, printed in 1671 :—



From the Antiphony of Armagh.



The music in both these pieces, from the Roman and Irish Antiphonaries, is identical in many notes; but there is a greater identity in the strains of both. Any person acquainted with the strain and spirit of the music in the Roman Gradual will trace a close resemblance between it and the specimen from the Armagh

In connexion with music it may not be amiss to allude here to dramatic representations, as exhibited in the Irish Church. Paganism and immorality in ancient times found the stage a most convenient platform for playing on a wicked society. Hence, on its introduction Christianity waged an implacable war against what had been a most potent auxiliary to the cause of error.* But when the seed of the Gospel struck deep root and overspread society; and when it was maintained that dramatic representations tended to the development of the highest creations of genius; when, in a word, the drama was thought likely to do no harm but much good, its restoration was sanctioned and brought about by the Church. The Church formed an alliance with the drama, not so much for the cultivation of the intellect as for the improvement of the heart. Looking to eternal interests, what did that Church care for the soarings of the muse, if it spurned the truthful simplicity of the Gospel? What did it care for scenic representations, unless it gave an echo of the sad drama on Calvary? On that account the lives of saints, the acts of martyrs, the mysteries of religion were the favourite themes with Christian actors and spectators. Such religious dramatic performances began not before the thirteenth century in the Irish Church, and continued to and after the Reformation in the sixteenth. In the year 1509, John Andow, procurator of the deanery of St. Patrick, was furnished with a bill for three shillings and a penny. The items mentioned were seven lights supplied to Thomas

Antiphonary. It is to be observed that the diamond and long notes, as known to Gregorian singers, are used in the Antiphonary of Armagh. Pressure prevented me from giving them in the above specimen.

* *Quid tibi cum pompis diaboli quibus renuntiasti.*—St. Aug. *Tractat. de symbol. ad catechumen.*—See Tertullian, *de spectac.*

Magon, with which he played at Christmas and Candlemas.

Another bill to the amount of 4*s.* 7*d.*, is furnished, because there had been a playing "with the great and little angel, and with the dragon, at Whitsuntide!" In 1523 the life of St. Laurence was acted. Each play was enlivened by some bold incident or some delicacy of expression. But the plays at Christmas and "Corpus Christi" threw all others into the shade. Let the following be taken as specimens. The annalist tells us that, in the year 1528, Arland Usher was mayor; and that Francis Hubert and John Squire were bailiffs. Tailors personated Adam and Eve; the shoemakers Crispin and Crispinianus; the vintners Bacchus; the carpenters St. Joseph and the Virgin Mary; the smiths Vulcan; and the bakers personated Ceres, the goddess of corn. The theatre was no less important than College-green. The actors were no less dignified characters than the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Blessed Trinity, and of All Hallows. Two plays were gone through. One represented our Saviour's Passion; the other represented the several deaths which the apostles suffered. Second only to those of Christmas were the plays of Corpus Christi. Adam and Eve, with an angel bearing a sword before them, were represented by the glovers; Cain and Abel, with the altar and their offering, were represented by the curriers; Noah and the family in the ark by mariners and vintners; Abraham and Isaac, with their altar and offering, by the weavers; Pharaoh and his host by the smiths; the Children of Israel, with camels, by the skinners; the kings of the East by goldsmiths; and the shepherds, with the angels singing "Gloria in Excelsis," were represented by the harpers. The "Corpus Christi" guild represented Christ in his

passion, and the Marys and angels; the tailors again represented Pilate and his wife; the barbers Ananias and Caiphaz; the fishermen the apostles; the merchants the prophets; and the butchers represented the tormentors at the crucifixion. In these representations all felt an interest, from the Earl of Ossory, who contributed the tapestry, to the rustics who constructed the stage. They did not foster the passions, but rather while they amused the young and instructed the ignorant, they sent all home better men. The drama, like every other branch of literature and science, was made ancillary to the purposes of religion and morality.

In connexion with this matter I am reminded of an entry given by the celebrated genealogist and antiquarian M'Firbis. While full of dramatic interest it gives us an idea of the love of the "wild Irish" for their patron saints, and of the encouragement given to learning:—"The year 1451 was a gracious one, though the glory and solace of the Irish was set, but the glory of heaven was amplified and extolled therein; and though this is a year of grace (jubilee) with the Roman Church, it is an ungracious and unglorious year to all the learned in Ireland, both philosophers, poets, strangers guests, religious persons, souldiers, mendicant or poore orders, and to all manner and sorts of the poore in Ireland, also for the generall support of their maintenance's decease, to wit, Margaret, daughter to Thady O'Carole, King of Ely, O'Connor Ffaly, Calwagh's wife, a woman that never refused any man in the world for anything that she could lawfully give. It is she that twice in one year proclaimed to and commonly invited .i. (in the dark dayes of the yeare, to wit, on the feast day of Da Sinchell" [26th March] "in Killachy) all persons both Irish and Scottish or rather Albanians to two

general feasts of bestowing both meate and moneyes with all manner of gifts, whereunto gathered to receive gifts the matter (number, RECTE) of two thousand and seaven hundred persons, besides gamesters and poore men, as it was recorded in a Roll to that purpose, and that accōpt was made thus as we saw, the cheife *kins* of each family of the learned Irish was by Gilla-na-nœmh Mac Egan's hand, the chiefe judge to O'Connor, written in the Roll. and his adherants and kinsmen, so that the aforesaid number of 2,700 was listed in that Roll with the arts of *Dan* or poetry, musick and antiquitie. And Mælin O'Mælcōnry one of the chiefe learned of Connaught was the first written in the Roll, and first payed and dieted or set to supper and those of his name after him, and so forth, every one as he was payed was written in that Roll for feare of mistake, and set down to eat afterwards. And Margrett on the garrotts of the great Church of Da Sinchell clad in cloth of gold, her dearest friends about her, her clergy and judges too. Calvagh himself on horseback by the Church's outward side to the end that all things might be done orderly, and each one served successively. And first of all she gave two chalices of gold as offerings that day on the altar of God Almighty, and she caused to nurse two young orphans. But so it was we never saw nor heard neither the like of that day, nor comparable to its glory and solace. And she gave the second inviting proclamation (to every one that came not that day) on the feast day of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady Mary in harvest at or in Rath-Imayn, and so we have been informed that that second day in Rath-Imayn was nothing inferior to the first day. And she was the only woman that has made most of preparing highways and erecting bridges, churches, and *mass books*, and all manner of things profitable

to serve God and her soul, and not that only, but while the world stands, her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered. God's blessing, the blessing of all the saints, and every our blessing from Jerusalem to Inisgluair be on her going to heaven, and blessed be he that will read and hear this, for blessing her soul."

For some time past I have presented the Irish Church under a twofold aspect—under an Irish and an Anglo-Irish view. This was necessary to a proper representation of the whole. There were two races distinct by birth, by language, by genius, by sympathies, and by territory. As if the great ocean rolled between, the Irish and the Anglo-Irish, though on the same soil, were looked on as distinct and different. On that account in providing for the Church of Ireland, the Dominican general, who raised Ireland to a province in 1484, appointed, however, two provincials. One was for those within, another for those without the Pale.* Such an anomaly was called for by the despair of an amalgamation of both nations.

But a more lasting anomaly was presented by the diocese of Enaghdune. The diocese being depressed to wardenship continued so till within the last thirty years. The English complained that while celebrating the divine offices, they were interrupted by those Irish who came down from the mountains. And indeed the aversion to social intercourse with regard to each other was mutual. If the English or Anglo-Irish looked on their neighbours as rude and turbulent, the Irish in turn in order to guard against the unprincipled rapacity of the Anglo-Irish, made laws

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 75, says that some eighteen houses were subject to each province.

to moderate if not altogether to prevent intercourse with them. In order that the citizens of Galway should be separate from and independent in a great measure of the Archbishop of Tuam, it was thought desirable to establish a wardenship in Galway. To separate from Tuam, which was looked on as an Irish see, the town of Galway or Enaghdune, poor as it was, the kings of England frequently endeavoured to erect the latter into an independent bishopric. However, the Archbishop of Tuam contrived to attach it for a long time to the archdiocese. Now, however, rather than see it an independent see, he consented to or applied for its erection into a wardenship. Backed as this application of the archbishop was by the complaints of the Anglo-Irish of Galway, Innocent VIII. expedited a diploma in the year 1484. It explains the cause, the privileges, and the duties of the wardenship. According to the diploma the church of St. Nicholas for a long time enjoyed from the abbot of the house "Collis Victoriæ," a Cistercian foundation, the one-fourth of the revenue from funerals.* Besides this, for the support of the chapter or warden, it received with the consent of its vicar, who had care of souls, the revenues of St. James' Church. To fulfil the law which required the value of livings to be specified when there was question of uniting them, six marks sterling† are put down as the value of St. James'. Well, after some lengthy preamble, the diploma allows "that there be eight regular learned men as vicars, governed by a

* Anything received by the Church for funerals was divided into four parts. One part went to the bishop; another to the church in which the burial took place; the third to the repair of the church; and a fourth share went to the poor.—*Thomas. Part II. Liv. i., ch. 62.*

† The English mark, 13s. 4d., was greater by one-third than the Irish mark.

guardian, all of whom are to observe the rites of the English Church.* The priests or vicars were to be appointed by a mayor, and seneschal, and the peers of Galway; afterwards the vicars were to be presented by them to the guardian. The guardian, removable every year, was to be appointed by the mayor, seneschal, and by the chief men of Galway. Then he was to be presented by them to the eight vicars. The vicars and guardian were to form a collegiate body. He was to possess full jurisdiction over priests and people, and have the care of souls. The vicars and the guardians were to have a common seal, table, and the other collegiate appendages.† This placed the Church of Galway in anomalous position. As an excrescence it took its rise from the antipathy and self-sufficiency of the Anglo-Irish. Either before or after, it had no parallel. As might have been expected it proved a source of much contention and abuse. The Church of St. Nicholas,‡ from which the college took its name, was after some time richly endowed. Even at once for the support of the collegiate body several parishes were annexed to it.

After a few years, besides the provision made in the diploma for the institution of the wardenship, the rectory of Finamore, the vicarages of Meray,§ and of Moycullen,|| the livings of

* This of course implies that the Irish rites were different.— See vol. i., p. 64.

† The seal of the wardenship was St. Nicholas with a crosier and mitre; three virgins kneeling on his right, and under the left were the purses by which he rescued them from prostitution.—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 441.

‡ For the age in which it was built, St. Nicholas' Church was a magnificent building. Built in 1320, it was dedicated to the saint whose name it bears, who was Bishop of Myra, in Asia Minor. It contained thirteen altars.

§ It was given in 1489.

|| In 1488.

Kilcomin, Kilruan, the rectory of Gnobeg,* Shruther.† Skryne,‡ and Kinlagh were assigned to the college. But these annexations did not take place without both trouble and scandal. Day after day orders came from Rome to investigate cases of litigated possession. Hence we find Alexander VI. directing bulls to the Bishop of Clonfert, in order to decide on the claims advanced on one side by the warden, and on the other by Richard D'Burgo to the livings of Finamore and Meray. One Florence O'Grady was said to have been deputed some time before this to give a decision in the matter. On this alleged decision in favour of D'Burgo he rested his claim. The guardian and vicars appealed, but failed in prosecuting the appeal within the appointed time. To enable them, however, to press their case, the Pope extended the time for appeal. At the same time he ordered the Bishop of Clonfert to enforce his decision by

* Innocent VIII. dispossessed Maurice O'Offaghart, of Gnobeg, because he would not take orders. It was then given to the college. However, John D'Burgo and Nemeé Maquelly were to offer forty Masses. Like many other livings, Gnobeg was in the gift of lay patrons.

† In 1501.

‡ By a bull issued in 1492, Alexander VI. assigned Skryne and Moycullen to St. Nicholas' College; but in 1495, on the plea of non-compliance with the conditions required by the Council of Lateran, he took Skryne and Clonberey from the college, and gave them to a lad only seventeen years old. The same Pope granted to Richard D'Burgo, Canon of Enaghdune, Tiraglas, Kenmara, and Ballinclare, which were in three dioceses respectively: because their occupiers did not comply with the conditions of the Lateran Council. Pope Julius, in 1511, on the same grounds, gave to Ristard Burke, perhaps the same as mentioned above, the livings of Chilmaine and Kiltelschel. Both were valued at ninety marks sterling. These unions not arising from poverty—because for that age ninety marks was a vast sum—did not contribute to the interests of religion. The conditions required by the Council of Lateran were to state as well the name of the former occupant and his dignity as the value of the living to be united.

cessures. In like manner, in 1497, the warden instituted a suit against Maurice O'Flaherty and Odo O'Flaherty, both of whom pleaded in their favour a decision of Myler O'Kennewan, Canon of Tuam. The litigated parishes were those of Gnobeg, Moycullen, Kilcommin, Killbrowan, and Raffrin. But, as on a former occasion, the guardian failed to prosecute the appeal within the appointed time. From the indulgence of Rome it was prolonged. A bull empowering them to investigate the matter was directed to the Archbishop of Tuam, to the Bishop of Clonfert, and to David De Burgo, Dean of Clonfert. The decision was in favour of the college. It was to be put in possession of the litigated parishes within six days. Nor was this all. The former occupants of the livings were to indemnify the college for the length of time they remained in their hands.

Nor was it merely in the acquisition of wealth and possessions the collegiate body excited opposition. Wealth begot a spirit of independence. The vicars with the warden repudiated any control on the part of the corporation, by whom they were voted into existence. The corporation did not abandon its rights. A meeting was called in the town hall; and from the resolutions passed we can judge of the pretensions of the warden and vicars. The resolutions insisted that the collegiate body should sing in choir at tierce, sext, and none; that they should live together; that no priest or vicar should be found out of his chamber at night unless on duty; that four boys should assist at the singing of Mass at the expense of the college; that the mayor and council shall be empowered to punish and correct the warden and vicars without the right of appeal on the part of the latter to the Archbishop of Tuam; and, finally, that the mayor and council shall have the election as

well of the warden yearly as of all other persons connected with the college.* By these resolutions we can see not only the high pretensions advanced by the college, but the lax discipline which already crept into it. Certain it is that the veneration of the surrounding district was not secured by the sanctity of collegiate life. The college was broken into and several articles, even the very chalices, were taken away.† Attacks, repeated some time after, appear to have been connived at by persons high in authority. Because the Dean of Enaghdone, Donald O'Flaherty, bound himself before the Mayor to defend the college in its possessions, tithes, oblations; and to indemnify it for any injury done by his men. While the wardenship failed in attaining the end of its institution, it proved a prolific source of dispute not only between the Archbishop of Tuam and its members, but even between the members themselves.‡

I remarked before that we can get an idea of this century by reading backward the thirteenth century. And as to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, we saw an unseemly scramble for bishoprics, so now, too, a like disedifying spectacle passes before us. It was in 1463.§ Jordan was

* Corporation Book.

† *Iar. Connaught*, p. 165.

‡ Like the seal of the Chapter of Armagh, the seal of Wardenship was common property. The former could not be kept by the dean but under three locks in some place accessible to all.

James Fallon,	} Wardens.
Thomas Molga, in 1500,	
John Bermingham, in 1514,	
John O'Dermod, in 1529,	

§ I suspect that a forgery by M'Incenane, in 1460, arose from ecclesiastical ambition. He forged letters in the name of Henry O'Neil. The penance he received was singular and severe. "He was bound to go barefooted and bareheaded, and clad only in a

Bishop of Cork and Cloyne—William Roche, Archdeacon of Cloyne, contrived a deputation to the Pope, requesting of him to appoint a coadjutor to the Bishop of Jordan, broken down by years and labour. The request purported to come from the aged bishop. To help out the archdeacon in the plot, a priest, one of the Geraldine family of the diocese of Cloyne, and formerly one of the bishop's domestics, forged an instrument whereby the old bishop was made to appoint this Gerald and O'Hedian Archdeacon of Cashel as his proctors to tender the resignation of the see. The Bishop of Ardagh was at Rome at this time; and into his hands O'Hedian put the matter. In consequence of this O'Hedian was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Jordan. The old bishop was driven from his see, and the revenues were seized on. He appealed to the Pope. The appeal was backed by the king, who represented everything as done without the bishop's privity. The Pope commissioned the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Limerick, or either, to investigate the matter. And if things were as represented, they were ordered to reinstate the old and remove the coadjutor bishop. In aid of the Pope's commission, the king sent orders to the Mayors of Cork and Youghal, to the Roches, and Barrys, and Barretts, to the sovereign of Kinsale, to carry it into execution. They were ordered to imprison any person who offered any opposition, and to maintain the old bishop and his tenants in quiet possession. Besides imprisonment, all resist-

single garment, with a wax light a pound in weight in his hand; and to submit to be beaten for twelve Sundays in presence of the solemn procession of the church, bearing the light at the close of the procession to the image of St. Patrick, and there beg pardon; and if circumstances permitted, to go within two years to the tomb of the Apostles."—*Registry of Octavian.*

ance to authority was to be met with loss of goods and office. And thus the old bishop was put and kept in the quiet possession of the bishopric. But what I have stated does not bespeak the confusion and corruption of the times so much as this circumstance—that William Roche and Gerald were the immediate successors of the old bishop.

Towards the diocese of Ardfert, as well as Cloyne and the other parts of the Irish Church, the watchful, beneficent interposition of the Supreme Pontiffs had been directed. On the death of its bishop, Maurice, the canonical appointment of John Stack had been questioned and troubled by John Pigg; but he had not been able to give much serious opposition. However, he contrived to put forward by-and-by a more formidable rival as he thought than himself, for the mitre of Kerry, in the person of Philip Stack. He so far succeeded as to have Philip consecrated. Of course, he could not be recognised until after the death of John Stack. But, then, the Roman Pontiffs who protected the canonically-elected bishop from annoyance by Philip, came to the relief of Philip, when elected, against his many enemies, principally Geraldines.* They usurped the property of the Church and interfered with the administration of the bishop. The Supreme Pontiff commanded them to desist from all opposition to their spiritual ruler, and to restore the usurped fruits of the Church. Before launching excommunication he gave warning thirty days previously. Ten days were to elapse between each warning. After that the bolt was to have been fulminated against them. No one, not even a bishop, unless at the hour of death, save the Pope, was to absolve from the sentence. That sentence was

* See p. 282, vol. i.

to be launched at Mass and Vespers, while the bell tolled and the candles were lighted, but afterwards extinguished and flung on the ground, while the standard of the cross was uplifted, and stones flung three times.* With a view to give solemn effect to his orders, the Pope directed letters to the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Killaloe, Limerick, Lismore and Waterford, Cloyne, Emly, and of Cork. And to give the co-operation of the arms of flesh to spiritual weapons the secular aid was invoked.

Putting aside the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, viewed as a binding article of faith, it was necessary, considered even in a human point, to the existence of the Irish Church. Did a dispute arise relative to the claims of several archbishops to the primacy, or to some suffragan see as that of Ardagh, it was only advice from Rome that could still the cry of discord. Let a vacant see become the source of contention between two candidates, each backed and consecrated by opposing bishops, it was from a decision from Rome only the widowed Church expected and received consolation. If the wicked and powerful combined to usurp or secularise church property, it was only the strong arm of the Sovereign Pontiff scattered them like chaff before the wind. Disorder of every sort, from the fierce contest for the primacy down to the pettiest benefice uncanonically possessed, extorted a rebuke and claimed the harmonising action of the chief pastor. Hence, in the course of the very year, 1463, Pope Pius II. protected the helpless old age of Bishop Jordan from supplanting ambition. He did not disdain to turn his attention to the remote wild coasts of Clare, and have justice done to Dermot Mac

* The flinging of stones thrice repeated in connexion with excommunication fell into disuse.

Gillaphadruig in the matter of a canonry and prebend in Cluoindagat.*

Nor was it merely in healing domestic differences and educing harmony out of discord, the influence of the successors of St. Peter was exerted on the Irish Church. With authority and effect they spoke whenever irregularities in priests and people required the severest correction.† Nay more, they were the great bonds of union between the Irish and the Universal Church. On that account, when a spirit of disobedience crept in there as well as in other parts of Christendom, arising out of the great schism of the West, the pastoral staff of the supreme shepherd was raised to keep his Irish flock, both pastors and people, in *the one fold and bond of peace*. Accordingly, Pope Martin V., in 1421, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of Winchester and fully empowered them to punish the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Ferns, and others, as well

* It was usurped by Donat M'Cray. The Dean and Archdeacon of Lismore and one of its canons, Maurice Fitzgerald, were commissioned to put Mac Gillaphadruig in possession.

† The Bishop of Ardagh was censured, in 1244, by orders of Innocent IV., *Quia conjugem suam publice detinere presumit, &c.* He had been married before receiving holy orders (fuit in minoribus). If our narrow-minded, bigoted historians saw this, they would at once proclaim that the Irish ecclesiastics, even bishops, had been married. They would not add what is given by the annalist — that there had been a separation, voluntary on the wife's part, with a vow of chastity, previous to his consecration.

Robert, Bishop of Clonfert, in 1303, from Boniface VIII., got license to celebrate the divine offices according to the liturgy in use at Clonfert rather than that of Canterbury, from which diocese he came as Benedictine, and in places subjected to ecclesiastical interdict, and to choose any fit person as confessor. Now, if this license had not been given, and consequently a difference of offices found in the Irish Church, an unfair historian would have us believe that some portions of the Irish Church were Gallican or independent of Rome. If we suppose the Anglo-Irish offices and those of Canterbury to be the same, we must infer that they were different from the Clonfertian or Irish ones. — *Id.* vol. i., p. 66.

laics as ecclesiastical dignitaries who had obstinately favoured schismatics.* Finally, to the Roman Pontiffs the Irish Church was indebted for the preservation as well as the reception of the deposit of faith.

Though a thoroughly selfish exclusive spirit is seen in legislation at this time, yet acts turn up which indicate some concern for the Church. Several pious foundations took place, and the legislature encouraged them. The Abbot of Tintern, who was at great expense in repairing the abbey, was exempted from attending in Parliament and the great councils. Notwithstanding the law of mortmain, the Abbot of Navan was allowed to acquire lands to the amount of £40. For maintaining the dignity of his see, the Archbishop of Armagh was allowed to purchase lands. Notwithstanding the same law, the chaplain of Youghal obtained leave from the king to purchase lands for the college. This happened during the reign of Edward IV., in 1462. Notwithstanding these acts, the legislature was taking a downward course.

At this time one may detect a spirited tone in the primatial see. The present primate does not appear so much the creature of the State as his predecessor, Payne. Besides, he asserted the rights of the primatial see. He issued orders for visiting Tuam and Cashel, and entertained an appeal on a matrimonial cause between Alice Knight and her husband, Simon Abrey. For a long time the right claimed and exercised in the following document was questioned by the Archbishop of Dublin :—

* Non curant mandatis nostris et literis apostolicis obedire, et quod gravius intelleximus, ipsi per processus apostolicos aggravati sententias et censuras ecclesiasticas parvi pendunt, et illas sustinent animis induratis, missas et alia divina etiam in contemptum clavium celebrantes in periculum animarum suarum et exemplum detestabile plurimorum.

“In the name of God. Amen. Having heard, seen, known, and fully understood the merits and circumstances of the case of appeal, and the merits of the case on its *first* stage, before the honourable Master William Theendee, official of Archbishop of Dublin, between Alice Knight, plaintiff, on the one side, and Simon Abrey, defendant, on the other, for some time pending; and *after*, by way of appeal, devolved on the metropolitical court of Dublin, and there terminated; and by a second appeal, devolved on the primatial See of Armagh, the primatial See of Ireland, and committed to us by the Most Rev. Father John, Archbishop of Armagh, by the grace of God,* to be terminated canonically; and because we have seen and examined the acts and processes of these causes before Master Robert, official of the court of Dublin, the judge before whom it was introduced, and before us the judge before whom they were laid, we find by the deposition of faithworthy men, against whom or against whose evidence nothing was objected on the part of Simon Abrey to change our minds, and for many reasons, that the intention of the said Alice was well regulated in reference to the appeal and its causes; we, therefore, James Lynch, canon of the church of Armagh, and specially deputed commissary by the Most Rev. Lord the Primate of Armagh, for the causes assigned, having

* Bishop, “by the grace of God.” This style was generally used in the twelfth century and middle of the thirteenth century. Afterwards, “by the divine permission,” “by the divine clemency,” “by the grace of God,” were used indiscriminately. Sometimes, indeed, priests and abbots used the latter form.—Selden’s *Titles of Honor*, Works iii., col. 962. It is observable that the words “*Dei gratia*” were used by persons addressing bishops, but when the instruments or documents ran in their own name the words “by divine permission” were used by them.—*Vid. Primate Colton’s Visitation*, Edited for I.A.S.

invoked specially the name of Christ, and having taken counsel with men skilled in the law, pronounce the appeal of Alice well founded; and that the said judges, from whom an appeal was made, pronounced wrongly and invalidly, and so we annul and make it void with all our power; and as we find that the said Alice never consented, but had been forced by her friends, and that she ran off as soon as she could, the said marriage we declare null and as if it never were, and divorce her; and decree that the dowry and gifts and private money (paraphernalia) be restored, and declare both parties free to marry by the definitive sentence."

If the Irish Church had a dark side, it had a bright one too. On this side, persecuting enactments, undutiful opposition to the Holy See, disrespect to the priestly character are looked for in vain. One curious instance of sacrilegious outrage cannot be passed over. Perhaps there may be some palliation for it in the madness under which it was perpetrated. In 1465, says the annalist, there was great scarcity of provisions. The people clamoured for food. The scene occurred in Siol Murray.* Either because the priest was supposed to have, or could not get provisions, a demand was made on him; but from whatever motive influenced, they dragged the priest, with the Blessed Sacrament in his hands and clad in the sacred vestments, from off the altar.

But on the whole, respect for the clerical body, love of penance and retirement, which gave their piety a primitive character, marked the old Irish. The customary troop of holy pilgrims and royal recluses passes before the historic eye. In 1450, full fifty went to Rome to celebrate the jubilee, and

* Elphin.

seven never more returned.* In 1471, to enter religion, the lord of Fermanagh resigned his lordship. In 1473, he was followed by M'William Burke. In 1467, Ailbe, daughter of Hugh Maguire, gave herself and property to the Convent of Lisgavol. In 1486, Thady O'Kelly, Lord of Hy-Manie, took the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis. O'Driscoll Mor and son, who performed pilgrimages to St. James, in 1472, and again, in 1480; and Maguire, son of Thomas More, who had been to Rome and twice at Compostella, died on their round of pilgrimage. While at home, their life had been a warfare, indeed; but domestic or national afflictions could not satisfy the penitential spirit—the sublime faith of the valiant lord and the highborn dame. They should kneel and pray at the tombs of holy places. They measured kingdoms by their steps. Having traversed the extremities of Europe, and then expiring during the pilgrims' devotion, a voice appears to rise from them—"Now, dismiss Thy servants, for our eyes have seen the salvation of Israel."

There had been a considerable share of intellectual activity in the Irish Church during the fifteenth century. If the term may be applied, there was a monopoly of learning amongst the clergy; but they sought to diffuse it amongst the people. The intellectual works of that age may not possess for all the same interest which later productions may enlist; but some of them will have a value and an interest as long as Irish annals and the Irish Church deserve a chapter in the history of the world.

* At every hundredth year the jubilee was fixed by Boniface VIII.; at every fiftieth by Clement VI.; and the term was reduced afterwards by Sixtus IV. to twenty-five years.

CHAPTER XXIV.

“ ALL those who seized or concealed any of the goods of the Archbishop of Armagh, or attacked his manor, we excommunicate, anathematize, and remove from the precincts of the Church, deliver to Satan and to his ministers for the destruction of the flesh; we render them accursed whether standing, sitting, walking, sleeping, waking, talking or silent, eating, drinking, and in everything they do, that their society may be of those who said, ‘Depart from us, O Lord, since we deserve not the knowledge of your ways.’ So be it. So be it. Amen.”* In a provincial council, held on the 9th of June, 1460, the above curious form of excommunication was issued against Robert Cusack. He was a native of Meath. But if the censures of the Church could avail its property might have been untouched. In the provincial council held in 1453, much stress had been laid on the invasion of ecclesiastical property; accordingly, severe measures were adopted to guard against it. And by-and-by, again in the year 1487, in a council held at Dundalk, by the Primate Octavian, it was decreed, among other things, that there should be no exaction from or molestation given to ecclesiastics native or English, or to their servants or tenants.

* *Register of Palatian*.—If Dr. Mant looked into this Register he need not have gone to England in order to get an idea of the form of excommunication used in the Irish Church.—Mant’s *Church History*, p. 28.

An interdict was thrown on the land when any person, except the king, violated the decree. The consequence of the interdict was a cessation of the divine offices. This cessation was to continue till it was certainly established that the offending party had received absolution.* All respect for property and even for the highest ecclesiastical personages had to a great extent vanished. Sad change from the times when the Irish looked on the word of the ecclesiastic as an oracle, and on the very necessaries of life as not to be touched if either under the protection of the Church, or the shadow of the sanctuary! In the shifting state of society, like so many waves of an invasion, the advances of the stranger or the natives effaced old landmarks, and lessened that respect for property which title or possession may give. Ecclesiastics who were carried forward in the common tide to prosperity, at its ebb by-and-by found themselves poor and unprotected. The complaints were made generally against the native Irish.

But it was not merely from the Irish the property of the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics suffered losses. Their property or persons enjoyed no immunity at the hands of the Anglo-Irish nobility. In illustration of this it will be amusing to peruse, in its original quaintness, the following appeal:—"Most excellent, victorious, Christian King, and our most redoubted Liege Lord, after the most humble recommendation we your devout and continual petitioners whose names bene subscribed, and whose seales bene put into this present writing, in the name of the hole Church of this your land of Ireland, grievously complaineth unto your highness that the said Church of Ireland is now more inordinately oppressed, contrary

* *Register of Palatian.*

unto the privileges and liberties of your most noble progenitors, granted and gyvyn unto the said Church, than have bene sēn the Christian feythe and holy Church was planted yn your said lande of Ireland, by the malicious meanes and wicked styrryngs of one Barnaby Barnewall, pretended Knight, which calleth himself Secondary Justice of your Chife Bench, in your said land in Ireland, as rulere of all that courte here, whose authority in that behalf ys unknown until us, which Barnaby continually occupied his mynde to serch and fynde by his wisdom, which he pretendeth to pass and excede the wisdomes in this your land of Ireland, the newe ways and means to hurt the Church, and to breke the lyberte and privileges ther of excluding, in as mych as in hym lythe, prelates of the Church here to proceed in causes mere spiritual, as in causes of matrimony, testamentary, perjury, tithes, spiritual corrections of synnes, and others like, in the which the said Barnaby proceeded daily—the form of your laws not observed—and vexeth and troubleth the prelates, persons of the Church here, in so mych that if they cam lowly until hym and please hym, with a reward others, an annual fee, or persoyne, he will cause thaym to be indyted before him, and lest the priestes, which the said Barnaby bringeth before hym, to have the said prelates and persons credyted, to do after his intente, and indyte the said prelates and persons contrary to their consciences, keepeth them undischarged, iii. or iiii. days, and other whylys, from one time until another, and sometimes emprisoneth thaym and commandeth them to warde.”*

The Anglo-Irish for some time thought themselves self-sufficient for purposes of Church and State. In

* *Register of Octavian de Palatio*, vol. i.

legislating on the exclusion of persons, whether from Ireland or from Rome, they thought their church would hold on its course. But in a short time, prejudiced as they were, in presence of the duties assumed to them they felt themselves quite helpless. So early as 1474, it was found necessary to allow some abbots to hold communication with the Irish, and act as gossips or godfathers to them.* However, it was not till 1485 that former enactments were repealed. By positive ordinances, too, it was decreed that benefices for two years may lawfully be granted to the Irish.† This, perhaps was brought about by some such representations as those made by Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin. He stated that, even in the Dublin diocese, there were some districts in which the English language was not understood; and that to those in which it was understood—because of their poverty—the English priests objected to come.‡ However, in a short time after a distinction was made not only between the English and Irish, but even between the English and Anglo-Irish priests as such. For the deputy, or Lord Lieutenant Edgecombe, having come from England to receive the allegiance of some of the Irish who rose in rebellion for Lambert Simnel, would not be satisfied with an oath sworn over the Eucharist consecrated by any priest other than his own chaplain.§ Also, in 1494, it was decreed that the Prior of Kilmainham to be elected with the consent of the king and the Prior of Rhodes, should be an Englishman. This ordinance was confirmed by a more solemn enactment in the following year, known by the name of Poyning's Law. That law ordained that the Prior of Kilmainham, the most extensive possessor of land

* Archdall.

† *Liber. Mun.*‡ Harris' *Bishops*.§ Harris' *Hibern.*

among the ecclesiastics, should be an Englishman;* that 26s. 8d. should be paid as a tax on every 120 acres of ecclesiastical land; that the laws of England were binding in Ireland;† and that the statutes of Kilkenny as much as possible should be enforced. At this time, indeed, it was almost impossible to enforce them, because the one-half of the counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Meath, and of Wexford comprised the entire Pale.‡ Even with those within the Pale Irish habits and language to a great degree prevailed. Nevertheless, the spirit of Anglo-Irish legislation was unmistakable. Everything possible was done to enslave the nation and corrupt the Church. That the latter was but too successfully carried out would be quite apparent, in the absence of any other proof, from the conduct of the Prior of Kilmainham. In the picture given of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, will occupy a prominent place. So early as 1482, he was accused of stealing and selling both the jewels and a part of the holy cross belonging to his priory. In consequence of this, with the consent of the Grand Master of Rhodes, he was excommunicated; but Keating, hearing of his degradation, and the appointment of a successor in

* The Prior of Kilmainham had lands not only in Dublin, but in Galway and Meath.

† The same was decreed by an Irish Act in the reign of Edward IV., as it was thought that the laws were of a sufficiently general nature to have them applied to Ireland. Of this general character were the 13th of Edward I., and many under Edward II. and Edward III. In the reign of Richard III. a question arose, whether a corporate town in Ireland was bound by English statutes; and though some differed, most answered in the affirmative.—Hallam's *Cons. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 523.

‡ Unless what concerned the Irish language, the statutes of Kilkenny were re-enacted. This shows the general use of the Irish language at the time.—*Liber Mun.*

the person of Lumley, had him apprehended. The deeds confirmatory of his appointment were taken from him. He then was sent to the commandery of Kilsaran, county Louth. These proceedings threw Henry VI. and the Grand Master into a rage. Forthwith orders were issued for the degradation of Keating from office. But he was not easily set aside. So far from repenting of what he did, that, seizing his rival, Lumley, he clapped him in irons. All that the Archbishop of Armagh could do could not succeed in effecting his liberation. But before long, death, the result of a broken heart, relieved him from the troubles of this life.*

Nor did Keating's notoriety end here. Though a creature of the State, he aspired to be a king-maker. During the reign of the Lancastrian line, there was a large number of malcontents in favour of the house of York. Henry VII., suspecting the loyalty of the Earl of Kildare, as if to consult on business of importance, sent for him; but a memorial representing his presence as altogether necessary to the well-being of the State in Ireland was signed by an influential number of ecclesiastics. Those who signed were the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, four abbots, and a prior. The prior was Nicholas of Conal. The abbots were Thomas Purcell, of Thomas's-court; Walter Chamflour, of St. Mary's; John Troy, Abbot of Mellifont; and Henry, Abbot of Baltinglass.† A conspiracy in the meantime was being hatched, and one Lambert Simnel was fixed on as an instrument for working it to a successful issue. He was the son of a shoemaker or baker, and educated by a priest named Fitzsimons. Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of George, Duke of Clarence,

* *Liber Mun.*; Ware's *Annals*.

† Ware's *Annals*.

was to be personated by Simnel, as the representative of the White Rose. Accompanied by a considerable army, and a number of lords adherents to the White Rose, he landed in Ireland in 1487. Among others, the Archbishop of Armagh and Edmund Courcey, Bishop of Clogher, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, remained loyal. But many, among others, Keating, favoured the rebellion. So did the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Kildare and of Meath. The last preached on the occasion of the coronation. To get through the ceremony of coronation, a crown was taken from the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and placed on the head of the mock king. Afterwards he was led through the city. In the preceding year, Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote to the Pope concerning the difference of opinion which was entertained relative to Simnel. The letter ran thus:—"The clergy and seculars are divided at this time with the king and no king, some saying he is the son of Edward, Earl of Warwick; others saying he is an impostor. But our brother of Canterbury hath assured me the truth, and His Majesty the King of England hath shown the right son of the said earl to the public view of all the city of London, which convinceth me that it is an error witting to breed dissension."

This letter, though it did not convict the archbishop in the eyes of the Pope, yet when backed by the representations of the king, made Innocent think that the conduct of all supporters of Simnel was criminal. Accordingly, the Pope, in the year 1487, wrote to the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel, to the Bishops of Clogher and of Ossory. He felt and expressed surprise that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare were not ashamed of adherence to the king's enemies. He

therefore wished that their conduct should be submitted to an inquiry, and if necessary punished according to law.* Whatever may be said of others, the Archbishop of Armagh was guiltless of rebellion, because he objected to be present at the coronation of the mock king, and so incurred the vengeance of the king's enemies.† At the same time he incurred the suspicion of disloyalty, because at the time in which the plot was being hatched, and on the eve of a rebellion, he petitioned for the continuance of Kildare in Ireland. But almost all—bishops and people—got pardon. The people of Dublin, in pleading for pardon, alleged the example of their right reverend father in God. To grant pardon in a solemn manner, and on the other hand, to receive an expression of allegiance, Edgecombe, one of the king's Privy Council, was sent to Ireland.‡ An oath was administered on the sacrament consecrated by the chaplain of Edgecombe.§ They swore allegiance to the king, and that they would prevent the publication of every bull trenching on the king's prerogative, or calculated to lessen loyalty to him. The same degree of respect or disrespect was to be shown under such circumstances to the bull or ecclesiastical mandate, whether it came from friar, abbot, priest, or Pope.

Those to whom pardon by patent was given were the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Cloyne; the Abbots of St.

* Harris' *Bishops*, p. 89.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Ware's *Annals*.

§ The oath of bishops and all ecclesiastics consisted generally in their looking to the Gospels and placing their hands on the breast. In 1313, Maurice Fitz-Thomas and William Birmingham made peace with the justiciary, one Anthony, by touching the Gospels and relics in presence of the Body of Christ.—*Registries of Armagh, passim*, and Clyn's *Annals*, p. 23.

Mary's and St. Thomas's ; the Abbots of Baltinglass, Navan, Melifont, Bectiff, of St. Mary's at Trim ; the Priors of Corbally and Louth, and of St. Peter's of Newtown, near Trim. In addition to the oath taken by the nobility, the following clause was added to the one required from ecclesiastics :—“ I shall, from this day forth, as often as I shall be lawfully required on behalf of our said sovereign lord, execute the censures of the Church, by the authority of our Holy Father Pope Innocent VIII., who now reigns, and by his bull given under the great seal, against all those of his subjects of what dignity, degree, state, or condition they be of, that let or trouble our own sovereign lord, or his title to the crown of England or lordship of Ireland, or cause commotion or rebellion against the same, or aid any of his traitors or rebels that intend the destruction of his sacred person, or subversion of his kingdom in England or lordship in Ireland ; I shall execute the same sentence with all solemnity thereunto belonging, within my church, within my jurisdiction, openly and solemnly, and will declare the same censures against all transgressors against said bull, or cause to be executed or declared, saving the episcopal privileges.”* On the reconciliation of the Earl of Kildare he used all efforts to obtain pardon for Thomas Plunkett, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and for Keating, Prior of Kilmainham. The former was pardoned ; but so far was the latter from receiving pardon that he was displaced from the governorship of Dublin Castle, which he, to the exclusion of the legal governor, Richard Archbald, had usurped for some time † But while Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, discharged his duty to the king, he certainly

* Ware's *Annals*.† *Ibid*.

did not forget his sacred ministry. In 1487, he wrote to Henry VII. in favour of an Athenian to the see of Dromore.* He held frequent synods, one at Drogheda, in 1480; a second in 1486; and a provincial synod at Atherdee in 1489. At the last assisted the Bishops of Raphoe, of Derry, of Clogher, of Meath, of Clonmacnois, of Ardagh, and of Dromore. There had been a contest for the bishopric of Kilmore between Thomas Brady and one Cormac. It was brought before the Synod. The decision come to was to refer the matter to the arbitration of the Bishops of Meath, of Clogher, and of Ardagh. Yet, strange to tell, both the rival claimants of the bishopric assisting at another provincial synod at Drogheda, in 1495, styled themselves, with the grace of God, Bishops of Kilmore. Some matter connected with the daily distribution of the cathedral was litigated on the one hand between Nicholas Maguire, Bishop of Leighlin, and the chapter on the other hand. They referred the matter to the Archbishop of Dublin. The chapter was not satisfied with the decision, and so appealed to the Primate. The Primate entertained the appeal, and in favour of the chapter reversed the sentence.

Except the unfortunate Prior of Kilmainham, who was stripped of his possessions and died in poverty, all implicated in the rebellion of Lambert Simnel received pardon. But the pardon did not secure their gratitude. A few years after, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy set up another competitor to the crown of England. His name was Perkin Warbeck. He

* He states that the see in spirituals and temporals was not worth £40, that the Irish was less by one-third than the English money, and that the see had been widowed of its pastor for the last two years. In fact, its bishop lived in England for full five years.—Harris' *Bishops*, p. 263.

personated the Duke of York, son of Edward IV. He landed in Cork. Many ecclesiastics rallied around *him* as around Simnel. Among these were the deans of Limerick and Kilkenny, the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and the Bishops of Cork and of Waterford. Thus, instead of labouring with united efforts for the distracted Church committed to their charge, the Irish bishops during the last fifteen years of the fifteenth century wearied themselves in acts of insane rebellion.* During these troubles the Popes showed themselves steadfast friends to the Lancastrian cause.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in favour of Lambert Simnel, Innocent VIII. wrote to the Irish archbishops and bishops. He, while confirming them in loyalty to Henry VII., ordered them to fulminate censures against the rebellious. And his successor, Alexander VI., on occasion of the trouble caused by Perkin Warbeck, acted the same part. He issued a bull by which he required the bishops to meet, take measures for the prevention of disturbance, and to enforce them by censures.† The English monarch did not correspond with this kindly spirit in the Popes. He kept the temporalities of Ossory for eleven years from the bishop appointed by Innocent VIII. Though trembling for his lordship in

* Ware's *Annals*.

† Old Rymer.—Alexander VI. wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishops of Bath, Wells, and London, agreeably to a request made by Henry VII., to provide some measures against the disturbance of the land of Ireland. The disorders were represented as prevailing principally in the rude remote districts. The Pope empowered them for the time being to assemble some good archbishops and bishops in any place they may think fit; to take measures for the reformation of the Church and people; and, notwithstanding the decrees of Otto and Ottobone, former legates, to punish the refractory.—Wilkin's *Concil.*, vol. iii., p. 645.

Ireland, he claimed in reference to Rome the prerogatives of the most independent monarch. This contrasted very strikingly with the usually submissive spirit of the Irish to the Holy See. No matter in whose gift was a bishopric, an appointment from Rome was received with respect. Hence, persons of every nation, English, Spaniards, Grecians were appointed to Irish sees.* In fact at no time was the number of promotions by provision of the Pope so remarkably great as in the latter years of the fifteenth century.

From the thoroughly secular spirit exhibited by the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, particularly tending to revolutionize even the State, a low tone of morality may be inferred among the people. Religion did not inspire awe, nor did the ministers of religion inspire respect for themselves. Accordingly, when Ormond and the Earl of Kildare met in a church, as the fittest place to compose differences and pledge each other to promises of future friendship, the august character of God's house was forgotten. Words ran high, passions broke loose, swords bickered, and the sanctuary narrowly escaped being deluged with blood. At another time, to gratify an angry feeling and spite the Archbishop of Cashel, the Earl of Kildare burned down his cathedral; and, when summoned to England to account for such an outrage,

* In 1487, the Archbishop of Armagh wrote to Henry VII. and recommended an Athenian, who was procurator to the hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome. This was the hospital for which Henry Loundres received four bysantines (i.e., eight shillings) out of the endowments of a similar house which he founded in Dublin. The archbishop represented Dromore as not worth more than £40. In 1493, he wrote to the king that Dromore usually supplied a bishop for the wild Irish. On that account he recommended Arthur Maguire for the love of God and the poor people.—*Register of Octavian.*

the only thing he deigned to mention in extenuation was, that he burned the cathedral under the impression that the Archbishop of Cashel was in it.

However, so far should we be from feeling surprise at a general laxity of morality from the confusion of the times and the worldliness of ecclesiastics, that the marvel is how things were not worse. There was laxity of conduct in the world and of discipline in the convent. On that account leave was asked and given for the reformation of the orders. Of course, there was no change either in the religious dress or dogmata of faith. The bands of discipline were only to be more tightly drawn.

We get an insight into the breach made in discipline from a letter written by the Abbot of Mellifont to the Pope. After some prefatory remarks complimentary to His Holiness, the abbot proceeded to describe the abuses of the Cistercian Order. Speaking of his own unworthiness and devotion to the Holy See, he alluded to the great trouble encountered in going among the Irish Cistercians who lived in the woods. He said, "that the rule of the founder was not observed; that practices prevailed among them which decency forbade him to mention. He had the greater objection to particularize them lest, the character of the entire national Church might be injured." Whether it was he feared that the practices were so shocking that their prevalence in a single spot would tarnish the renown of the purest Church, or that their prevalence among the Irish would argue as much or more frequency among the Anglo-Irish, the letter does not mention. But it went on to describe "how for a full hundred years none from the remote districts from any of the Irish Cistercian houses could be induced by promises, or

threats, or friendship to visit their superior. Wars arising out of the original conquest were perpetuated by the negligence of the ecclesiastics and the oppression of the nobles. The latter presented to vacant benefices and exacted tributes. Monasteries were in a state of decay.* No hospitality was practised. The funds were at the disposal of laics. As a natural consequence the monks wandered about in search of the necessaries of life; Divine Service was neglected; the monastic dress was laid aside; the monks lived amongst the nobility; those called abbots sometimes were not consecrated, and such as were consecrated scarcely once a year visited their houses. With the exception of the Abbey of Mellifont, and of one near Dublin, there was scarcely a monastery through Ireland in which the Divine Service was sung according to note.

“The religious in the Irish districts did not recognize the Anglo-Irish superiors, but passed over to the rebels. And so far were they from paying a visit to such superiors, that if the latter attempted to approach their houses, the Irish threw themselves into the churches, mounted to the belfry, let fly arrows, and repelled all approach.” The writer who gives this description was commissioned to reform the Cistercian orders. He begged His Holiness to be relieved of such a charge. At the same time he promised all comfort and help to his substitute. One request, however, he made. This was that his house and that near Dublin should be exempt from the

* Prene's *Register*, vol. ii. (not paged). About 1440 the Archbishop of Armagh issued orders to the suffragans of the province to have the churches put in repair. The crannyng winds and drifting snow came in through the roof; and the windows, which once had stained many-coloured glass of the purest kind, were now unglazed and unframed.

jurisdiction of any reformer; that he may have a choice of a confessor either from among the seculars or regulars; and that the confessor may have faculties to absolve him from all the censures and crimes into which he may have fallen. In asking exemption for his own house and the one near Dublin from the jurisdiction of the commissioned reformer, he suggested that each of the two houses would have the power to visit and reform the other.* The Pope, in answer to this letter from the Abbot of Mellifont, which draws in sombre tints a picture of the Irish Church, says that he did not receive the usual tribute from the Cistercians for the last twenty-eight years. But the abbot satisfied his holiness that if the money were not forthcoming, it was the fault of the papal collectors. The happiness of the successor of the abbot as reformer was not to be envied. Because in trying to reform others he was accused of standing much in need of reform himself. He was charged with a variety of crimes. A monk of Mellifont, one Thomas Harvey, was said to have made the charges. He denied them, but the charges were made against the Cistercian reformer. It is very strange, indeed, that the Abbot of Mellifont, the reformer of the Cistercian Order, should have besought the Pope to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the succeeding reformer. And when we couple with this the fact that he begged for his confessor faculties to absolve from all crimes and censures, a suspicion arises that his testimony on the moral conduct of any people is to be received with some doubt. There can be no question that, in drawing a picture of the Irish religious, the abbot dipped his pencil in tints of national bitterness. And while he makes a charge against the

* *Register of Octavian.*

Irish, that charge establishes the shortcomings of the Anglo-Irish Church. For to speak of the Irish religious not recognising Anglo-Irish superiors but as going over to the rebels, evidently proves that the English ecclesiastics did not keep aloof from the strife of parties; that, ranging themselves among the oppressors of the nation, they forfeited the confidence of their spiritual subjects. But all allowance being made for the prejudice of party writers, it must be admitted that the spirit of the world made its way into the cloister. Laxity of discipline is laid to the charge not merely of the Cistercian, but even of every other order. Turriana, General of the Dominican Order, says "that all convents were both deserted by brothers, native as well as foreign, and affected by bad practices."*

As in other parts of the Christian Church, in Ireland there had been disputes about funeral "Quarters." A love for the monastic orders had always been manifested. While living, men wished to befriend and endow them, and when dying their wish had been to rest in clay hallowed by so many members of the brotherhood. This feeling had been as old as Christianity. St. Cyprian made it a matter of charge against Martialis, a Spanish bishop, that Christians were buried in profane sepulchres.† The dying desire of St. Ambrose was to be buried near the holy martyrs. In the early ages of the Christian Church none except the martyrs and apostles found a place in the church under the altar.‡

* *Expoliati fratribus nativis et aliis et malis moribus corrupti.*
—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 76. † Ep. 68.

‡ The ancient canons in legislating on burial-ground taught that a holy passage could not be affected by any burial-place, and that a bad death could not be retrieved by a holy place of sepulture. But the fervour of prayers was increased by being recommended to the martyrs.—Thomas. *de vet. et nouv. discip.* Pars. iii. B. I, ch. 68; St. Aug., *de cura pro mortuis*, Pars. ii., Liv. i., ch. 69.

In the course of time, however, emperors and the specially favoured were glad to find a resting-place even in the porch of the temple.* They were glad to serve as porters to the fishermen. But since the Council of Mentz, in 813, though the privilege was denied to the mass of the people, kings, clergymen, and other eminent men were allowed burial in churches. Thenceforward the privilege was being extended till, in the thirteenth century, it was sanctioned by law. There was a fondness then in the fifteenth century, as I said, for the monasteries as burial-places. But as the burial-proceeds were a source of revenue to the churches in which the interment took place, the secular clergy felt jealous of the preference often given to the monasteries.† The monasteries could not be denied the right of giving interment to all who, dying in communion with the Church, wished for a resting-place in them. Such a right was guaranteed by both Clement IV. and Sixtus IV. If the Irish clergy then did not deny the right of sepulture among the friars, at least they claimed the canonical revenues accruing from it.

* Durandus, *Rationale*, Liber I., ch. 5.

† There was a contention between the prior and canons of Lanthony on the one hand and the canons of St. Patrick's on the other hand. It referred to burial in Palmerston. King Henry granted it to the bishop's church in Lanthony. He enjoined, however, four marks to be given to the Vicar of Palmerston. The vicar at the same time was to pay five shillings to the prebend of Glanwilliam. For to it the canons of St. Patrick contended that Palmerston belonged. Whereas the greater Lanthony maintained that Palmerston belonged to Garristown, to which itself laid claim.—Alan's *Registry*, T.C.D.

Down to the fifteenth century the fourth part of the goods was set apart as a mortuary. The reader may be curious to see an inventory of goods given in the fifteenth century. William Gory deceased left viii acres of corn, price each 6s.; viii acres of barley, each 3s.; 4 cows, 3s. each; iv oxen, 18s. each; 1 steer, at 20*d.*; ii little pigs, at 6*d.*; v lambs at 6*d.*; x heifers 20s.; iii jars and 2

The mendicant orders would not yield up their right. The Primate Octavian called a synod at Drogheda. Its decision was in favour of the orders. The Bishop of Meath made known the resolution of the synod to the clergy of his diocese.

After speaking of the attempts made to trench on the rights of the regulars, he said, "that the friars, saving the rights of the churches from which the corpse is taken, can without leave of any person advance processionally with a cross into the parishes in which the *corpse may have been*, and take up the corpse and carry it to be buried in their own church, wherever such a custom prevails, or where the priests required for taking it out refused to do so. The friars may not be compelled, or the relations of the deceased, to carry the corpse to the cathedral churches, or to any other place, and are not bound to give any of the goods of the deceased, directly or indirectly, by any general or special law, no matter what name the goods go by, whether called a canonical or parochial portion, provided that the corpse was buried with them. However, in reference to cases not contemplated, in which the funeral portion was to be paid, all good honest agreements entered into between the regulars on one side, and the bishop and parish priests on the other, should be observed for the future as well as the said privileges through the entire province."* But this decision did not set at rest the question of burial.

In 1317. Sir Thomas Mondeville, a settler in Ireland, fell at Carrickfergus in a feud or battle. By consent of the bishop, he was removed to the next

patens, 5s. All amounted to £6 9s. 8d. The funeral quarters came to 43s. 4d. Some of it was given to the Church.—Octavian's *Register*.

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 8.

church of the Minors, and buried there, as he could not well be removed. But the Dominicans of Drogheda exhumed him, though he did not will to be buried with them; nor was any of his ancestors buried with them: this was to the serious injury of the guardian of Minors, as he complained. From this it was inferred that without a selection one's burial-place was in the parish where he had a domicile.

CHAPTER XXV.

As we approach a period when an insane endeavour was made to reform the unchangeable doctrine it is well to note the praiseworthy efforts made at this time for the reformation of discipline and morals.

In the year 1460, a provincial synod was held in Tuam, and, after guarding against several abuses, the fathers legislated against the introduction of suspected characters in priests' houses.

In the year 1469, Paul II. wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin and to the bishop of Down to the effect, "that as those observing the conventual life (conventuals) could not be multiplied, and as there were only a few persons in many of the convents, (owing to the number that passed to the strict observance), even in cities scarcely are there found five or six, sometimes two or three, in some places only a single individual, and none in some houses; and that, owing to the deserted state of the houses, the devotion of the faithful is seen to grow lukewarm and religion to suffer: well, to those anxious to go to the strict observance, he grants license on condition that they should not have a local vicar, but they should live under a provincial."

We see under another aspect the work of reformation. In 1479, Pope Pius II. wrote to or appointed Francis, Bishop of Interamne, legate *a latere* to Ireland and England. And, from the commission with which he was armed, we can see what steps were taken to reform

quietly and effectively not in doctrine but in discipline. "We appoint you legate in Ireland on account of some difficulties which touch the universal Church and the condition and honour of the Apostolic See, with full powers that you should reside in these countries personally, so that you, as an angel of peace, be able to travel through the country, and be able to 'pull down and destroy, build and plant,' reform what is unsightly, correct what needs correction, bring back the erring to the way of truth, and decree what you may judge necessary to the good of the Universal Church and holy faith, and for the defence and liberty of the Holy See, according to the measure of your prudence and heavenly grace, with the assurance that under his guidance, who can bring what is 'perverse unto the straight road, and what is rough unto smooth paths,' everything will be done to God's honour, exaltation of the orthodox faith, the well-being of the Church, the peace of the Apostolic See, the tranquillity of these parts, for the preservation of morality and ecclesiastical liberty.

"Everything, then, touching the reformation of morals, practice of religion and honesty, the raising up the Church, extirpation of heresy, the tranquillity of the country, to do, order, and correct all of every rank and condition, of bringing back the wandering to obedience and devotion to the Holy See and the Church, and absolving them from all sentences and proceedings of trials, from suspension and interdict, relaxing every interdict, removing every infamy and irregularity no matter how incurred, and rehabilitating them in their benefices and former states, and confirming them again, if necessary, against all rebels to us and the Apostolic See, and strangers to the unity of the Church, and power of depriving them of their benefices of whatever condition, and of excom-

municating and harassing them, and of employing the secular arm as often as necessary, and of concluding peace between princes and communities of the kingdom and said places, and by agreement and compact to establish leagues and confederacies amongst them, and cause them to be observed by all, and inflict any punishment you may think fit, and also, for the quicker despatch of business, to summon a general or particular synod of prelates, princes, dukes, barons, temporal lords, and to propose and cause to be observed what shall be determined on, and ordering prelates of churches or monasteries, priors and teachers of every dignity, chapters, seculars and regulars, exempt and non-exempt by ecclesiastical censures, no matter of what rank or condition, even grandimontenses, Cistercians, congregations of Cluni, of Premonstre, Cartusians of the Vallambrosa Order, Camalduli, the Humiliati, those of St. Benedict and St. Augustine, Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and those of Blessed Mary, those of the Teutonic Order, of Calatrava, and all others, &c.

“Therefore, we command your fraternity by apostolic mandate to undertake this laborious ministry in regard to God and the Apostolic See, and that you may faithfully execute them according to your wisdom, that from your labours, with the divine favour, the desired fruit may come which we hope for, and that you may obtain the palm of eternal glory given as a reward to labourers in a holy cause.”

So, too, in the year 1460, the Bishop of Killala was commissioned to inquire into the truth of a petition presented by Nehemias and Richard, of the Order of Minors, stating that, though there were many houses of the Order, yet it is only in one of them the rules of strict observance are maintained, conventual

or otherwise. They desire four cardinals, with consent of the brethren, to make a beginning, and have them subject to the General in Rome, as it would promote religion and help the faithful.

Their petition was granted on condition that the bishop certified to the truth of their statements, and that they would elect a local vicar subject to the general.*

After the close of the middle ages, the early part of which was so fruitful of saints in Ireland, the Irish annalist has to record the death of an additional holy one in the person of Blessed Thadæus.

The diocese of Cork and Cloyne were united in the person of Bishop Jordan in the year 1430; and, either because the people of the diocese felt dissatisfied at the union, or because the powerful Anglo-Norman families wished for one of their own as a bishop, the appointment of Thadæus, in 1490, met with much opposition.†

Amongst those who made themselves remarkable were Maurice, Count of Desmond,‡ William Barry,

* *Theiner*, ad an.

† The Roches and Fitzgeralds were Bishops of Cloyne and Cork immediately before and after the accession of Blessed Thadæus. *Vid. App. Diocese of Cloyne and Cork.*

‡ “*De Simonie*” in the text, I have no doubt, is a mistake on the part of the annalist for DESMONIE, Desmond.

The Geraldines were powerful, too, in Ardfert. In the year 1463, Pius II. wrote to the Prior of B. V. Mary, of Raydgella, Limerick, and to the Chancellor, Gerald Phil. de Geraldine, and Canon of the Church of Limerick:—“We, learning the purity of life and many virtues for which our beloved son, David Fitzmorris, Chancellor of the Church of Ardfert, is recommended to us on unexceptionable testimony, induce us to be liberal. Since then we learn that the rectory of the parochial church of Randbarad, in Ardfert, because our beloved son, Gerald Fitzmorris, having obtained it canonically when vacant, and though possessing it for more than a year peacefully, on the removal of all impediments, failed to have himself promoted to the priesthood without a dispensation, became and is vacant: we, then, wishing to make

and Edmund Fitzmaurice, their brothers, Philip O'Ronayn, a Cork cleric, the people of Cork city, and the university of the town of Youghal, in the diocese of Cloyne. These and their followers prevented the bishop from entering on possession of his see and its property. These excesses called for the interference of the Holy See, which appointed two conservators for the See of Cork and Cloyne, and strictly charged the enemies of the holy bishop to desist from all opposition to him.

This interference on the part of the Holy See took place on July 19, 1492. However, the next document in reference to the bishop reveals to us his death in Piedmont, on October 24th, in the same year. In going to Rome to receive advice or conso-

special favour in regard to David, ordered him with whom we dispensed, as he asserts, on the impediment of illegitimacy, being born of a deacon and unmarried girl, so that, notwithstanding the tenor of some of our letters, by which we ordered that the vacant chancellorship of the Church of Ardferit should be provided for in his person (which there is among the higher dignities with care of souls, though not next the pontifical dignity, and to which one could not be elected), so that he could receive it by virtue of the former letter, or any other ecclesiastical benefice, the former being surrendered, though having care of souls, if canonically conferred, and that he could be promoted to all holy orders, we have been graciously disposed to exercise a special favour in regard to his merits, and absolve him from all sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, and all disabilities inflicted by man or law, and in which he may chance to be entangled, so as to have effect only for the time present, and we commit to your discretion by apostolic commission that if such be the case you two, either by yourselves, or with others or another, the said rectory, which is in the gift of lay patronage, and whose fruits do not exceed 8 marks sterling, according to the common estimate, by our authority, you would confer on said David, inducting him or his representative into corporal possession of the rectory, its rights and appurtenances, and defending him inducted, having removed all unlawful detainers, and requiring all its revenues and proceeds to be faithfully accounted for. Dated, 4th Ides of March."—Theiner, ad an.

lation from the Vicar of Christ; it would appear he was seized with illness, and turned aside to the hospice for pilgrims of St. Anthony, in Ivrea. At his death a preternatural light was seen to play over his head, and, at the same time, a vision of a saint in pontificals was seen by the Bishop of Ivrea. Several miracles were performed through his intercession immediately after death. He was buried under the high altar of the cathedral in a shrine over the relics of St. Eusebius, patron of the church.*

“In the year 1497, the Guardian of the Friars Minors and the Bishop Cathal Maguire, acting under the orders of Pope Alexander VI., closed the Purgatory of St. Patrick.”† Through all ages of Christianity a spirit of pilgrimage followed a spirit of penance; because the former is only one of the many phases which the latter assumes. Places rendered sacred by the presence of or associations connected with God’s holy servants have always been visited with veneration. Over and above the advantages to be derived from any work done in the spirit of penance, done from a supernatural motive, this additional good resulted from a visit to holy places, that more fervour was felt, more helps were got by the

* *Marmoreus tumulus hoc templo Virginis Almæ, corpora sanctorum plura sepulta Jacent. Martinus hic. . . .*

Inde Thadæus adest, quem misit Hibernia, præsul, sospite quo venit sæpe petita salus, regis progenies alto de sanguine Machar, quem nostri in Genua nunc salique vocant, ingemuit moriens quem Hiberno sidere cretum non cariense tenet, non cloyenense solum, sic visum superis; urbs eporedia corpus, templo majore marmoree claudat opus. hic Jacet Eusebii testitudinis ipse sacello, Pauperiem Christi divitis inde tulit, hunc clarum reddunt miracula sancta; beatus extat; et in toto dicitur orbe pius; huc quicumque venis, divinum venerare Thadæum vota que fac precibus; dic que viator, ave. Mille quadringentos annos tunc orbis agebat atque nonagenos; postmodum junge duos.” *Vid. O’Renehan MSS. et J. E. R., May, 1865.*

† *An. Ulster.*

intercession of the saints in whose honour the pilgrimage was undertaken. Acts of pilgrimage, through the merits of Christ, have an atoning nature, and procure many graces for the soul, and even sometimes a miraculous cure for the ills of the body. Aurelius Prudentius, the glory of Christian poets, and to whom we are indebted for the beautiful hymn "Salvete flores Martyrum," paid a visit to Rome, and at the tomb of the martyrs prayed for the healing of wounds.* St. Augustine, too, recommended the like conduct.† Has not St. Jerome made the Christian world ring with encomiums on the pilgrimages of Paula, the illustrious descendant of the Scipios and the Gracchi? The spirit of Christianity inspires a love of penance. And a more penitential spirit was not displayed by any people in Europe than by the Irish. Before their visits to Rome, to Compostella, or Jerusalem, they visited in a spirit of devotion every place of pilgrimage in their own land. But of all the pilgrimages in Ireland none was at all comparable for its renown and the numbers thronging thither as St. Patrick's Purgatory. There was a time and pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory was scarcely less famous than that to Compostello. Though it was supposed by many to be traceable to the Apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick, as if discovered by him and sanctified by his prayers and miracles,‡ yet

* Hymns, ii., iii., p. 311.

† Tom. ii., p. 184, Bened. Ed. "Though God be in every place," he says, "yet it is not everywhere in which God works the same wonders as at the relics of this famous servant, St. Felix of Nola."

‡ Many, including Dr. Rothe, the author of *Hibernia Dominicana*, and Colgan, attributed it to St. Patrick. The latter, to meet the objection that it was said to be founded by Patrick junior, said, that there has been a Patrick before the Apostle, and that the Apostle was consequently Patrick junior. In the twelfth century there had been an office in commemoration of this Purgatory. The hymns and nine lessons were occupied in detailing the nature of the Purgatory.

later critics attribute it to another of the same name who lived several hundred years after the glorious Apostle.* Accordingly, agreeably to a probable opinion, the Purgatory was so called from an abbot who lived in the eighth century; or, what is deemed no less probable, the Purgatory took its rise from the fast and pilgrimages which St. Patrick went through. However, the so-called Purgatory of St. Patrick lay in Ulster.

In the southern part of Donegal† lies a lake some twelve miles in circumference. It was situated amid mountains and moorland. That lake is called Logh Derg. It was so called, as the legend tells, because a formidable serpent, the terror of all and the death of some, was sent bleeding and dying into the lake by St. Patrick. This reddened the lake. Hence it was christened "Logh Derg."‡ Several islets dot the lake; but two principally attract notice. Any

* There are only a few words in the old office of St. Patrick which in any way allude to the Purgatory. "Hic est doctor benevolus, Hibernicorum Apostolus, cui loca purgatoria ostendit Dei gratia." And though the journeys of St. Patrick are minutely described in the old lives, there is no mention of a remarkable stay, if any at all, at Logh Derg.

† Ware places it in Fermanagh. It is in the diocese of Clogher.

‡ Father O'Connor need not be puzzled as to whether he should call the lake Logh Derg, or, as Dr. O'Donovan would have suggested, *Logh Derc*, "Lake of the Caves," because both terms apply to the same place. In this, too, I am disposed to differ from O'Donovan, as *deirc* means a *burial-ground* rather than "caves." *Derc* means a burial-place. Hence, in the *Dinsenchus*, we have $\text{v}e\text{r}cc\ m\text{-}\text{b}\text{u}\text{a}\text{i}\text{l}cc\ m\text{-}\text{b}\text{i}c$. Nor was this the only place called Loch Derg Deircc. St. Camin's monastery, near Scariff, county Clare, also is called Logh *Deirg Dheirc*; perhaps from $\text{v}e\text{i}rc$, mercy, suggestive of its holy character. But, whatever the origin of the word *Dearg*, it was applied to the scene of the pilgrimage—Deirc being a sort of Christian or qualifying adjunct to it. *Vid. Felire of Aengus.* $\text{f}\text{o}\text{r}\ \text{L}\text{o}\text{c}\text{h}\ \text{D}\text{e}\text{i}\text{r}\text{g}\ \text{D}\text{e}\text{i}\text{r}\text{c}$. St. Regulus is celebrated on the 18th September in $\text{m}\text{u}\text{i}\text{c}\ \text{i}\text{o}\text{r}\text{g}$, $\text{f}\text{o}\text{r}\ \text{L}\text{o}\text{c}\text{h}\ \text{D}\text{e}\text{i}\text{r}\text{g}\ \text{D}\text{e}\text{i}\text{r}\text{c}$. Again, $\text{L}\text{o}\text{i}\text{m}\text{g}\text{e}\text{r}\ \text{L}\text{a}\text{c}\text{h}\ \text{r}\text{i}\ \text{D}\text{o}\text{c}\text{t}\text{a}\text{i}\text{v}\text{e}\text{c}\text{h}\ \text{f}\text{o}\text{r}\text{r}\text{i}\text{n}\text{d}\text{a}\text{i}\text{o}\text{s}\ \text{C}\text{o}\ (\text{L}\text{o}\text{c}\text{h})\ \text{D}\text{e}\text{i}\text{r}\text{g}\ \text{D}\text{e}\text{i}\text{r}\text{c}$, &c. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 252.

of the two is a spot where the anchorite or penitent may wish to retire. For there, cut from all intercourse with his fellow-man, he could indulge his love of retirement. He could, as many of the saints did, punish his body by descending into the water. He had ample facilities for working his imagination into a lively representation of the gloomy caverns of the damned. This facility was afforded by spending some time in subterranean passages. There were two principal islands. One was called St. Dabeoc's, the other Station Island. In the former, from the earliest ages, was a religious house of much repute for sanctity. After the twelfth century it became a house of Augustinian Canons. St. Dabeoc's Island was connected by a wooden bridge with the mainland.* The other, Station Island, about a mile distant from shore, was three-quarters of an Irish acre in extent. In this, at least from the sixteenth century,† lay the "Purgatory." To this spot there came those who wished to be peculiarly penitential. By degrees the fame of the pilgrimage extended; but it was not till about the middle of the twelfth century that it became an object of interest to all Europe. It happened in the following manner:—

* Ordnance Map. *Vid. Camb. Evers*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Kelly, Maynooth, vol. i.

† I say at least from the sixteenth century, because I am inclined to think that always the cave or Purgatory had been on Station Island. So thought Gerald Barry (*Topographia*, ch. 5), who wrote in a few years after the narration of Henry of Saltry. Ware was of the same opinion. Several in the seventeenth century doubted if the Purgatory had been in Station Island only because the cave had been closed up by Pope Alexander VI. But the closing up of the cave happened because the Purgatory was supposed to have been a pure imposture, and not because it was in one rather than another island.

In the wars of King Stephen there was an Irish knight named Owen. Even for a soldier his life was rather disorderly and criminal. He had to accuse himself as well of robbery, of sacrilege, of cruelty, as of many deeds of blood. Stricken in conscience, he applied for leave to visit Lough Derg, and descend to St. Patrick's Purgatory. The narrative of the knight's descent and of the visions with which he was punished and blessed, was thrown into form by Henry of Saltry in 1153.* Owen presented himself to the bishop of the place, who as usual endeavoured to impress him with a sense of the severity and danger of the undertaking, and thereby to dissuade him from it. Then the pilgrim was sent to the prior. He, too, so far from encouraging the attempt, used all means to dissuade him from it. The disposition to brave all continued in Owen. Even then fifteen days were devoted to prayer and fasting in the church for the purpose of testing the firmness of the pilgrim's resolve, and invoking the blessing of heaven on the pilgrimage. After this Mass was usually said, the Holy Communion administered, the candidate for the pilgrimage sprinkled with holy water, and every necessary instruction was given. The penitent pilgrim was led in a procession formed of the religious. He was conducted to the mouth of the cave, the litanies were sung, and if even then the purpose of the pilgrim did not change, he was sent into the cave with the benedictions of the Church.

There have been several versions of the pilgrimage of the Knight Owen in Latin and English, in prose and verse. Most Protestants deny, and many Catholics may agree with them, that the pilgrim was not

* Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, ad an. 1153.

vouchsafed the visions attributed to him. If they stopped here there would be no great reason to complain; but historians of a romancing and sectarian spirit have made merry at the Lough-Derg Purgatory, and taken occasion from the alleged narrative of the pilgrim or his historian, Henry of Saltry, to discredit the usefulness of penitential works, or the existence of a future purgatorial state.

Without changing from the historian to the polemic, it may be said that a belief in either point of doctrine does not and did not depend on the reality of the visions of the pilgrim. Should the whole story prove devoid of any foundation in fact, it would still testify to the then general belief in Catholic doctrine.

And after all there is nothing in the story of the Celtic Owen that had not substantially been said by others. Adamnan, born in the early part of the seventh century, whom Bede styles a priest worthy of all respect, and whom native martyrologies place in the *Calendar of Saints*, has favoured us with like visions.*

St. Adamnan reminds us "that SS. Peter and Paul were vouchsafed visions of heaven and hell, and that himself was favoured with like visions on the Feast of St. John Baptist. He furthermore informs us that it was for no other purpose this happened than that he should the more earnestly insist on a stricter observance of religion by the men and women of Ireland. That religion, he assures us, was the same as what was preached by St. Patrick before him, the same as that preached by St. Sylvester to the Em-

* O'Donovan (*Ir. Gram.*), p. 440, says "there is no reason to question the antiquity of the Vision," and expresses a hope "it will be shortly published by the Irish Archæological Society."

peror Constantine, the very same that was preached by SS. Peter and Paul."

As has been already remarked, there was nothing new in Owen's notion of purgatory. So far from it that, if people insist that his vision was not real, it does not appear to differ substantially from that of St. Adamnan.* I here, by way of comparison, give a summary of Adamnan's vision from the Irish, and Owen's from the Latin. :—

Vision of Saint Adamnan.

"The guardian angel conducted the soul of Adamnan to the regions of hell.

The first region they met is a black, dark region, which is bare, burned, without any punishment. On this side of it is a valley full of fire, in which the flame rises over its borders on every side; its lowest part is black, its middle and upper part is red. There are eight monsters here, their eyes glowing masses of iron. There is a bridge over the valley; it extends from one brink to the other; its middle part is high, its extremities low. Some fell from the bridge, others crossed it in safety. . . . The souls are alternately lifted up to the firmament, and again dashed down to the lowest pit of hell. They are placed on bare burning flags, and floated on four various streams: to wit, a stream of fire, a stream of molten snow, a biting venomous stream, and a stream of dark, black, bitter water.†

"The guardian angel conducted Adamnan to a

* *Vid. Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, p. 30; *Leabhar Breac*, p. 255.

† For a striking specimen of the alliterative character of the Irish, see *Leabhar Breac*, p. 255, col. 2. *Vid. App. NN.*

happy, lightsome country. The inhabitants, in glorious, wonderful groups, clothed in pure white garments and white hoods. There the most delightful harmony is eternally drunk in. There they are separated, however, one group from another, by glorious glassy veils of various dazzling colours. There is the Virgin Mary, with the other virgins in a separate favoured spot before the Lord, &c. The light of seven suns was nothing in comparison to what surrounds the Divine Throne. No earthly music could for a moment be put in comparison with the matchless melody. . . . There, as seven walls of glass with various colours, and each wall higher than the other, seven thousand angels bearing the likeness of their Creator, illumine the Divine Throne.

* * * * *

The guardian angel leads the soul to the fifth heavens. A fiery stream again is to be encountered. In this there is a whirlpool which detains the souls stained by sin during sixteen years. The sinless souls pass it unharmed. When it is fit to release the suffering souls the angel, &c.

“Michael meets them at the sixth heaven, and then all pain and sorrow are forgotten in sight of the dazzling splendour. Michael, with the other angels, conducts them before the Lord; and oh, how inexpressible,” &c.*

* *Leabhar Breac*, pp. 254-55

Vision of Owen.

“ Awful figures appeared before the knight. They exhibited the most sickening contortions of body. They welcomed him to a place where, they said, his sins deserved to bring him. They prepared a bed of blazing pitch for him. But he remembered the prayer of the ecclesiastic in the dim hall, and as he uttered it the spirits fled. On *their* disappearance another group of evil spirits appeared. They led the knight to a country of intense cold and savage wildness. There he heard the cry, and saw the tortures of an infinite number of both men and women. And this was the first field of punishment.

Through three other fields he was led. In these he saw souls undergoing the most terrible punishment. Some fastened to the ground on the back by large stakes, and fed on by a vast number of toads, suffered inexpressible torments. Others hung up in a fiery space, or roasted on a spit and basted with boiling lead, endured what baffles all description. From scalding pits, into one of which he well-nigh fell, the pilgrim knight was conducted to a lake of intense cold. In this, too, numbers of souls were tortured. He was then brought to the mouth of

hell, a fiery pit. There souls, like chaff in the wind, were whirled about. Afterwards he was conducted to a bridge spanning water of inky blackness, in which rolled toads of ugliest shape. To the great risk of falling into the noisome pool he passed over the narrow bridge. By praying earnestly to God he got over the wall.

“On the opposite side confronted him a wall of glassy appearance, and reaching to the clouds. A gate set with gems and precious pearls was fixed in the resplendent wall. The ravishing sight made Owen forget all his sufferings, or think them as nothing. An imposing procession approached. Priests, and bishops, and religious clothed in their respective dresses composed it. Hermits and nuns, too, swelled the glorious train; and all poured forth strains of matchless melody. There, too, moved kings, and emperors, and powerful lords. One and all, laic and cleric, were in ecstasies of joy. They conducted the knight to the several points of interest and beauty. The place was no other than the terrestrial paradise. So much in love with the place did the knight become, that he did not wish to leave it for evermore.”

The Loch Derg pilgrimage, as a matter of course, supposed a belief in a future purgatorial state: not only so, but in process of time it came to be represented as a place where one in the flesh caught a vision, and realized the pains of a future middle state. Hence Cæsar Heisterback is represented as saying, “Whoever doubts of purgatory let him go to Ireland, visit St. Patrick’s Purgatory, and his doubts will be removed.”* Whoever went through the penitential course of the pilgrimage with proper dispositions, piously believed that it tended to save him from the sufferings of purgatory in the next life.

* *De Miraculis*, lib. xii., ch. 38.

The cave into which the pilgrim descended was in length sixteen and a half feet. In breadth it was two feet one inch. The walls were made of freestone. Large flags covered with green sods roofed the cave.* Some twelve or fourteen persons may be crushed into it. In after times to afford a light to those who were bound to read the breviary, a window was set at the end of the cave. On this island beds or cells dedicated to several saints were enclosed by walls three feet high. Within these cells, before descent to the cave, a vast amount of prayers was said. The cave was north of the church on the island, and still more northerly were the beds. They were called after SS. Patrick, Bridget, Columba, Brendan, Molaisre, Catherine, and Dabeoc.

It is not unlikely that the founder of the Purgatory, in the eighth century, or more early, went through the Purgatory with great benefit to his soul, without at the same time experiencing any of the visions spoken of in later ages. And it is very likely that an excited imagination or busy fame converted the visions into a representation of both the earthly paradise and of purgatory. At all events, the fame of the Purgatory spread. In 1358, Edward III. gave testimonials to two knights to certify their manly descent to St. Patrick's Purgatory. One was a nobleman from Hungary, Malatesta. The other, Nicholas de Biccariis, was a Lombard.† In 1365, a letter was sent to the Prior of Loch Derg with a view to the kind reception of John Bouhan and Guido Cessy, who intended going through the pilgrimage. John Garry and Francis Protty, priests of Lyons, and John Burgess applied for leave to go to the Purga-

* Giraldus Cambrensis says that only nine persons could be received at the same time in the cave.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv., p. 408.

tory, "sanctified by the forty days' fast and prayer of St. Patrick." Some time later Raymond, Viscount of Perillos, Knight of Rhodes, chamberlain to the King of France, obtained from Richard II. a safe conduct to the Purgatory.* In the following century in 1409, after due preparation, Sir William Staunton descended to the cave. His account of his temptation and of the punishment which he saw the wicked undergo, is in many particulars more minute than that given by Owen. It runs through several hundred pages. At this time the superintendence of the Purgatory was a post of profit and grave responsibility. In the year 1455, Raymond Maguire, an Augustinian, was prior. Donald M'Grath, canon, helped by Thomas M'Creanyre, Abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Armagh, sought to prevent Maguire from disposing of the proceeds from the Purgatory. He appealed to the metropolitan and Rome; and the canon was ordered under pain of excommunication to desist from further annoyance.

While the fame of Logh Derg was extending year after year, while it brought the remorseful sinner, the penitential ascetic, and the brave knight from afar, while the noblest poets derived inspiration from it, † while several versions of the narrative of Henry of Saltry appeared in French and in English, an event occurred which, in 1497, for a time eclipsed the renown of St. Patrick's Purgatory. For the purpose of going through the pilgrimage, a monk from Emystadt, in Holland, came to Logh Derg.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv., p. 408.

† It is thought that Dante caught the idea of the "Divine Comedia" from the Purgatory. From it Calderon, in the seventeenth century, borrowed the chief incidents for a play. From it was taken the plot of the Italian romance, *Guerino detto il meschino*.

He applied to the prior for admission. The prior referred him to the bishop. For leave to go through the pilgrimage the bishop required the usual toll. It was applied to the repairs of the church. Though demanding the usual tribute the bishop did not insist on it. Though leave was given, it was given with a bad grace. This rendered the monk censorious. He entered the Purgatory; but did not find it to correspond either with the description given, or the expectations formed of it. There were no visions of torture, no glimpses of bliss. It was an everyday, painful exercise. The monk hastened to Rome, represented the Purgatory as an imposture, and he was the more inclined to do so because of the exactions of the bishop.* In consequence of his representation Pope Alexander VI. issued orders to the Prior of Donegal to have the Purgatory suppressed. Accompanied by some persons deputed by the bishop, the prior closed the cave on Patrick's Day, in the year 1497.

Just as it may be safely advanced that St. Patrick, the Apostle, was not the founder of the Purgatory, so without the charge of heresy might it be maintained that the visions spoken of before and after the twelfth century were creatures of the imagination.† Not of course that the devout believer may not expect the interposition of Providence as often as its vindication was necessary. Not that we have not the

* *Adiit Episcopum, et quoniam pauper erat, vix a ministris admissus est. Provolutusque genibus Episcopi petiit sibi licentiam intrandi purgatorium Sancti Patricii. Episcopus vero petiit summum pecuniæ, quæ ab intrantibus jure sibi debere dicebat.*—Bollandists *Acta SS.*, vol. ii., March, p. 570.

† Feijoo implies that the story of the Purgatory rests on the "baseless fabric of a vision." The learned Bollandist, speaking of the Purgatory, says: "Hibernia fabulis poetarum facilis ad credendum."

highest authority, in fact the authority of St. Augustine and St. Gregory, for the credibility of visions in the apostolic and subsequent times; but, as I said, if we make allowance for the difference of ceremonies in the twelfth century from those in the present day, it is not improbable that the effects from a visit to the Purgatory then were not different from what takes place at the present day. At the same time the penitential exercises of the sixteenth century at the Purgatory were *substantially* the same as now. Nine days were the usual length of the pilgrimage. During that time the pilgrim lived on barley-bread without condiment—without the condiment even of salt. The drink was water from the lake. The pilgrim proceeded barefooted to the Church of St. Patrick. He moved seven times around the church inside, and as many times outside while praying in the cemetery. The same process took place at each of the seven beds or oratories. By the way, the sevenfold circuit inside was gone through on the knees. Then in prayer he moved round two crosses. One of them was in the cemetery, the other was fixed in a mound of stones. Thence he proceeded by a rough, flinty way to the border of the lake,* where St. Patrick was said to have prayed—there, too, prayer was gone through. And after singing the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Creed, the pilgrim closed the station. The station was gone through three times daily: in the morning, in noon, and in evening. Such exercises were practised for seven days. On the eighth day the stations were gone through six times. On the ninth day the pilgrim went to confession and communion, received instruc-

* De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.*, p. 5, says that the pilgrim by going through each station travelled two miles.

tion and exhortation from the prior, entered the cave, and remained there in fasting and prayer for twenty-four hours. Though the last twenty-four hours were spent in the cave, yet it was optional with one to spend them in the church. It is needless to say that the intervals between the painful stations at morning, noon, and night, were filled up by hearing Mass, sermon, by vigils, by morning and night prayers, and by preparation for confession. So much so, that together with the fifteen decades of the rosary three times a day, the Lord's Prayer and Creed were said daily two hundred times.

In the last century the vigil of the pilgrimage was kept in the chapel—called the prison—at the *close*, but at present it is kept at the *opening* of the station. In the middle of the last century the time for pilgrimage was during the months of May, June, and July. The pilgrims slept on hay or straw, without a pillow. If the head was protected the pilgrim was satisfied with a chance covering.* The season for pilgrimage now opens by order of the bishop on the first of June, and closes on the fifteenth of August. On the first view of the island by the pilgrims a prayer is said; and on pushing from shore at the close of the pilgrimage a farewell to Lough Derg is sung out. The boatman pays the landlord, as yearly rent, two or three hundred pounds. The average number of pilgrims during the last month is estimated at about one thousand daily.

But I return to the suppression of the Purgatory by order of Alexander VI. After a short time, notwithstanding its suppression, in all likelihood the people visited the Purgatory. They visited it not as

* De Burgo visited the Purgatory in the middle of last century, and says that for severity it is without a parallel in the Christian world.—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 550, ch. xv.

a medium by which to catch glimpses of another world, but as a place admirably adapted for penitential exercises. The humblest Catholics knew, no matter how or at what time founded, no matter what extravagant notions may have been entertained abroad of it, that the Purgatory was a place where fitly may be put in practice what forms an integral part of Catholic belief. The humblest Irish boy or girl felt that devotion to particular saints, and prayer, and mortification of the flesh, and the escape of purgatorial punishment in a middle state in the next life, incurred by venial sin or by the temporary punishment due to mortal sin, after the eternal guilt was forgiven—for attaining all these ends the Catholic felt that Lough Derg afforded peculiar facilities. It was therefore resorted to by the pilgrims. Even Rome relented. The popes saw no reason, though fame attributed effects to the Purgatory which need not have been, or perhaps never were, experienced, why that which formed an essential part in the Catholic system should be discountenanced.

As to what person founded the Purgatory, or what toll was exacted, was a matter of pure accident; but it was found to be very illogical for the sake of pruning the luxuriance to fell the venerable oak. This view was seconded, if not suggested, by the Reformation. The heretics would point to the suppression of the Purgatory by Rome, as popery self-condemned. So Rome again took the Purgatory under its protection, and indulgenced it.* Still, in the desecration of everything sacred and venerable the Purgatory did not escape. The cells and cave were destroyed by Government. Protestant settlers were planted in the neighbourhood, and though they placed as

* Messingham, *Florilegium*.

many impediments as possible to all approach to it, yet it kept its hold on the religious feelings of the people. It was not beneath the notice of Government to step forward and exert its influence for the suppression of the Purgatory.* The lord justice, Richard Boyle, in 1632, forced the friars to leave the island, caused their house to be thrown down, and the cells to be broken up. In the second year of Queen Anne it became an object of legislation. "All pilgrimages, especially to a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory, were declared riotous." Orders were issued to all the sheriffs and magistrates to enforce the law against offenders. But such enactments only added a stimulant to the religious impulse which drove people thither. Even abroad it recovered some of its ancient renown. Such had been the fame of the place, and so much did it win on the feelings of the legate, the noble Rinuccini, that he said he should be in a great measure consoled for his troubles in Ireland if he could only replant the cross on the island, that had been pulled down by the Puritans.

It became as popular a place of pilgrimage as ever. It became a subject in the hands of the religious dramatist to enforce sacred truths.† It called forth a panegyric from one of the most austere Popes in the eighteenth century.‡ In the year 1714, Dr. M'Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, visited the Purgatory in disguise. There the rites of the Catholic religion

* The friars in charge of it in the seventeenth century were Franciscans. I am not aware that the Augustinian Canons, since 1497, had any concern of it.

† In the seventh century Calderon made the Purgatory a subject for a dramatic performance.

‡ Benedict XIII., while Cardinal Archbishop of Benevento, preached up pilgrimage to Lough Derg. He took as his text these words, "Eructabo abscondita a constitutione mundi."

were gone through, while they had through persecution to be suspended through the whole country. He endeavoured to remove an abuse—the offering a *Requiem* Mass on Sundays and festivals for those entering the “*Purgatory*,” as if they had been dead to the world. Indulgences had been granted to it before the end of the sixteenth century, and subsequently by Clement X. and Pius IX. Despite enactments and misrepresentations the Purgatory has kept its ground, and will keep its hold on the religious veneration of the faithful as long as a belief in the usefulness of the invocation of saints, in a future purgatorial state, and in the usefulness of penitential works, form an integral portion of Catholic doctrine.*

* For a very interesting and full account of Lough Derg, see the Rev. Father O'Connor's *Lough Derg and its Pilgrimages*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DURING the first quarter of the sixteenth century literature, especially in connexion with Ireland, was much advanced by the children of St. Patrick. The valuable compilations which pass under the name of *Dowling's Annals*, and which have engaged the attention and praise of learned antiquarians, were chiefly written by Nicholas Maguire, Bishop of Leighlin. A sub-prior of the cathedral of Christ's Church, Dublin, Thomas Fich, gave us the interesting *White Book* and *Book of Obits*. George Cogly, notary in the church of Meath, gave us, in 1518, a catalogue of its bishops since the invasion. In the year 1512, the series of Irish annals was usefully illustrated by a Cistercian monk of Duiske Abbey, Kilkenny, at the command of the abbot, Charles Cavanagh. The ecclesiastical history of Clogher and its bishops, together with a hymn in honour of St. Maccartin, was written by Dr. Cullen, Bishop of Clogher, and his archdeacon, Roderick Cassidy.* St. Columba's life was written by Manus O'Donnell in 1532. But Maurice O'Fihely or *de portu*, archbishop, far outshone the contemporaries as well of his own as other countries. He was of the Order of St. Francis. Let his biographers speak: "He was eminent for his extraordinary know-

* The hymn thus opens—

"Festum dignum celebrantes,
Sanctum virum venerantes," etc.,

and invokes the aid of St. Maccartin by his prayers.

ledge in divinity, logics, philosophy, and metaphysics. It is scarce possible to relate how obliging and courteous and yet how holy and religious he was in conversation. When for many years he taught the arts with universal applause in Padua he was advanced by Pope Julius II. to the archbishopric of Tuam. He did not long survive his appointment; he died there scarcely fifty years old. He had by him several written monuments of his learning; but his unexpected death prevented their publication." Another biographer writes of him:—"Maurice, an Irishman, revived all learning of John Scotus, and very nicely commented on his *Universalia*. He also published a dictionary to the Holy Scriptures." But as to his works let us hear what *Possevin* delivers. "Maurice," says he, "an Irish Minorite and Archbishop of Tuam, composed a dictionary to the Scriptures, which was first printed at Venice, in 1603, by John Anthony and James Francis, at the command of the most illustrious Matthew Zane, Patriarch of Venice, though it be not extant further than the letter E inclusively. Moreover, he explained the whole doctrine of Scotus by writing commentaries on him, which as to that part on the *Questions* was printed by Simon de Luere at Venice, in 1500. Also his Theorems for the better understanding the mind of Scotus were there published by Lazarus Soard, in 1514; but his *Enchiridion* of Faith was printed before, in 1509, by Octavianus Scotus. It is said, further, that Maurice wrote on the life of John Scotus, and a book of *Distinctions*, which is preserved among the Franciscans at Ravenna; and, according to H. Villot, he wrote in rhyming verse the *Compendium of Truth*. He attended two sessions of the Council of Lateran in 1512. He died on the 25th March, 1513. His learning and virtues acquired

for him the name of *Flower of the World*, "Flos Mundi." Just as Dr. O'Fihely was a type, and it must be said a fair type, of the Franciscan family, so I think it not amiss to give an account of the literary wealth in one Franciscan convent as a specimen of the rich stores preserved in the Irish monastic libraries. The catalogue of books in the Franciscan convent of Youghal was drawn up by the Irish sub-prior William O'Hurrily, at the command of the Celtic brother Philip, guardian of the convent.*

Nothing will give a better idea of the intellectual activity of the sixteenth century than, perhaps, a simple recital of the contents of one monastic library. Not so much from a regard to the books in order to prevent their being lost, much as they were valued, says the transcriber, as from a conscientious motive of complying with the dying request of his spiritual father, did good brother O'Hurley draw out the catalogue. It comprised "five beautiful Missals in parchment, and three others less valuable; bipartite legends; five choral psalteries; two new graduals; a new book for the pulpit, and three other old graduals; a new collectory in parchment and another in paper; a martyrology with the general Rubrics; also an ancient martyrology and an old book of Rubrics; a large new antiphony in two volumes, and another new one with two old ones; a tripartite Bible and another smaller one; a book containing various writings; the little work of *St. Bonaventure*; the Golden Legend; the *Diadem of Monks*; a book called *Mamotractus*; a book called *Papias*; a book of Concordances; a *Catholicon*; Nicholas de Lyra on the Old

* The catalogue is represented as drawn up in 1490, and the first year of the reign of Pope Innocent VIII. It is strange the mistake did not strike Dr. Maz. Brady, that Innocent VIII. began to reign, 1484. *Vid. Records of Cork, Cloyne, &c.*

and New Testament, in five volumes ; a commentary* of the same on the sacred Scriptures ; the Sum of Astexanus ; the Life of Christ, in two volumes ; the Epistolary of Jerome, in two large volumes ; two copies of the *Master of Histories* ; the Rationale of divine offices (by Durandus) ; Bonaventure on the Sentences, in four volumes ; the Epistolary of Pope Gregory ; treatises of Gerson . . . ; ecclesiastical history ; Breviary of the Seasons ; also a Psalter written by brother Willus, a Breton of this convent ; the historical looking-glass (speculum) of the Order of Preachers, according to Vincent ; a part of the psalter which begins thus : " Blessed is the man," on to the psalm, " The unjust said," with the ordinary gloss ; and some postills† on the Book of Job ; the apology for the poor, by *Saint Bonaventure* ; a book of recommendations according to the writings of the order ; a book called *Petus de Aurora*, in verse of an allegorical, anagogical, tropological character ; Franciscan Flowers, two copies ; the four Evangelists glossed in four volumes ; Bartholemæus on the properties of things ; Petrus de Tharacum on prosperity ; books on Canon Law ; the decree of Gratian with a supplement ; the Decretals with their additions ; *Panormitanus* in five volumes ; the sixth book of Decretals with Clementines ; Dominicus on the *sixth* ; St. Bonaventure on the four books of Sentences with the text, in two printed volumes. Then follows a list of books for the use of Maurice O'Hanlon : A breviary, missal, and diurnal ; an English summa and the sermons of James de Voragine ; sermons of

* *Monilia*, literally, a necklace, but because the several parts of a commentary are linked together, it is called *monilia*.

† Postills are marks or explanations ; because after the words *post illa tempora* (after this) an explanation of a parable came on in the Gospels.

Robert de Licio in praise of the saints; twenty sermons for Sundays; Preceptory of Nider; Boetius; the *Confessions* of St. Antonine; a compendium of St. Thomas; a book entitled "Whoever follows me;" a short discourse of St. Bonaventure on the writings of the Order, and a small prayer-book; Dorpili on the Sentences; a Bibliotheca; the four last things; a book on the Passion—these were in paper. Then follows an entry of books in 1523, as follows: Speculum of the Franciscans, in two volumes; a book of meditations by St. Bonaventure with others, and a chronicle of the Geraldines; *Gerson* in a small volume; sermons of a disciple in the handwriting of David Ronan; a breviary of Edmund Magner by the same; a missal in the writing of Maurice Power; printed Bible in a circular form; Life of Christ by St. Bonaventure, and a Roman Breviary; four last things; missal and a book of devotion and *declaration*; sermons of Paul Wan on the seasons; sermons of Nicholas Lochmayr on twenty-three festivals; sermons of the *new Thesaurus* on the seasons and festivals; sermons by another of the same sort; sermons of Edmund Magner; sermons on the seasons by Licio; Decretals; small missal in paper; Acts of St. Francis; Antidote for the Soul, by John Paul; small manual; book on the misery of man, with other tracts; portions of St. Thomas' work (*Quodlibeta*), in paper, with remarks on three of the sentences; Boetius; Preceptory of Nider; collection of words with their explanation in the Teutonic tongues; history of the Romans; three tracts of St. Bonaventure, viz., on noviceships, on perfection in religion, and on the training of man; a paper missal; sermons of Richard Fleming; Ezechiel glossed; a devout book in which are contained *many prayers to the saints*, also Richard the Hermit;

expositions of theological rules according to Alexander (nequam) (?); a volume containing the parables of Solomon, Books of Wisdom, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and a grammar treatise in verse; the second of the second (part) of *Saint Thomas* of Aquin; St. Thomas on the first part of his *Summa* (Theologica); St. Thomas on the third part of the *Summa*; a compendium of theology; the Master of Sentences (Peter Lombard); Postilla on Mark and the Epistle of Paul to the Romans; the *Summa* of (St.?) Raymond belonging to brother Stephen de Barry; the philosopher (Aristotle) on many matters, especially the five books of Topics; the *Summa* on virtues; postills on Daniel according to Nicholas de Lyra; postills on Isaias the Prophet and Ezechiel; the Penitentiary of Master Bartholomew; Bishop of Oxford on the Canons; the *Summa* by Master Godfrey, sub-deacon of our lord the Pope; the fourth book of Sentences and some sermons; a little book containing explanations on Law, the Sentences, Daniel (Prophet), the Psalms, Decretals, Proverbs, and other things; the *Summa* on virtues with a table of authorities, and books of sentences compiled by Mr. John Ela. Then come sermons—sermons of *Saint Bernard*; of Leonardi de Utino in two volumes; sermons for Sundays through the year; different sermons in an unlabelled book; sermons (Januensis) on the Sunday gospels; sermons of Robert de Licio; sermons of Master James de Lousane, a Franciscan; St. Gregory on morals, in two volumes; *Summa* of brother Raymond; the dialogues of St. Gregory; *Summa* called the hundred discourses (centiloquium) of brother John Wabergen; a book on Law and the Decretals; a book called the Speculum of Albert, and the text of the Book of Job; a book of Decretals in one beautiful volume; a book which explains all

the obscure names in sacred Scriptures from *Genesis* to the Book of *Wisdom*; a treatise of Master John de Authon on the Constitutions of Ottoboni; a treatise on music; philosophical books by Master Walter Burley, also philosophical terms, with eight books on physics; a summa on discipline and the twelve abuses of the cloister, also the disciple to his master; a tract on the misery of man, by Innocent III. (Pope) and some histories of the *province* of Ireland, both in one volume."

Here, then, we find the entire field of science as then known cultivated by the monastic orders. Philosophy of a physical and metaphysical nature, rhetoric and logics, poetry and music, canon and civil law, pulpit eloquence and history received cultivation and development at the hands of the friars. When one considers the stately, beautifully-proportioned fabric of scholastic and moral theology which had been reared—raised, if I be pardoned the expression, to the dignity of a science—when one considers the light thrown on every portion of revealed truth, from *Genesis* to the *Apocalypse*, by glosses, commentaries, and homilies; when one takes into account the slow, tedious process of transcription, and the marvellous store of books created in a single convent, worthy of a large library of the present day when copies are scattered from the printing press quickly as the mysterious sibyl's leaves before the wind, the conviction arises that we can never be sufficiently grateful for the rich legacy bequeathed by the religious communities.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Irish, for the most part, found themselves in the same state in reference to laws and civilisation as they were at the coming of the English. Because the English laws and habits did not prevail to an

extent of more than twenty miles.* This, whether for good or for ill, was not altogether, if much at all, to be laid to the account of the Irish. For before they could experience the least benefit of the English law they had to crave, had to buy it.† However, there was a turn of mind, a grace about them which was not owing to the Anglo-Irish, and which they could not take away. This was a love for the monastic orders. In every past century we saw numbers of religious houses rise up and overspread the land. And though one might suppose that the religious disinterested spirit of our fathers may have sufficiently shown and satisfied itself, yet we find it energising in the sixteenth century. Accordingly during the few years devoted to this chapter several religious houses were founded. There were founded, in 1504, at Dublin, an hospital for poor from certain parishes, by Allen, Dean of St. Patrick's;‡ in 1528, near Galway, was founded a house for Augustinians, by Stephen Lynch; in Creevelea, county Leitrim, was founded a house for Strict Observant Franciscans, by Mary O'Brien;§ in 1509, at Ballinruark, county Sligo or Leitrim, was founded a house of the Third Order of St. Francis, by the wife of Eugene O'Ruark;|| in 1512, at Slane, county Meath, was founded a house of the Third Order of St. Francis, by Fleming and Eliza Stukely;¶ in 1518, at Ballyguarney, county Leitrim, a house for Conventual Franciscans was founded by Cornelius O'Brien;** at Armagh was founded a house for Reformed Franciscans;†† about 1519, a convent was established by Bonaventure,

* The Pale was confined to four shires.—Cox; *Hib. Dom.* ad. an. 1521; Sir John Davies.

† Spencer, *State of Ireland*, p. 20.

‡ Archdall. § *Ibid.* || Ware. ¶ *Ibid.*, Archdall.

** *Liber Mun.*

†† Archdall.

Bishop of Ross, at Dursey, between Bantry and Kenmare; in 1521, at Ardagh, the Minors were reformed by the Strict Observants;* in 1530, at Lisgavil, county Fermanagh, Franciscans were established by Maguire. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, in county Antrim, Bunamargy, Mauvin, and Limbeg, were made houses of the Third Order of St. Francis.†

But it was not so much for the number of pious foundations the early part of the sixteenth century was remarkable as for the spirit of reformation, the spirit of devotional pilgrimage. Not that there had been, or could be, a change in doctrine. There had been an effort made to raise the tone of morals and bring all local national usages into harmony with general discipline. In 1511 and in 1514, provincial councils were held in Limerick; in 1513, at the Council of Constance, the Irish Church was represented by O'Fihely, styled "Flos Mundi," the flower of the world; in 1529, a provincial council was held by Dr. Butler; and in 1523, was held a sort of national council, to which the provinces of Cashel, Armagh, and Tuam sent their bishops.‡ An effort

* *Liber Mun.*, Ware.

† *Alemant*—Mention is made sometimes of the Third Order of St. Dominick; but it cannot be understood as an independent religious Order, as the Third Order of St. Francis. Those of the Third Order of St. Dominick, unlike the conventuals or observants of the Third Order of St. Francis, were under the same superior as the other Dominicans. For the erection of a religious house as for that of a bishopric leave from Rome was required. Thus, in 1434, Eugene IV., issued a diploma in reference to the Convent of Urlace (Achony) built without leave, and absolved persons from any censures incurred thereby. He invested the house with the usual privileges. The law to that effect was made by the predecessor of Eugene, Pope Boniface VIII. In consequence of a like disregard of the law with regard to the Convent of Burishool (Mayo) Innocent VIII. issued apostolic letters in 1485, by which he granted full privileges to the house.—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 321.

‡ *Harris' Bishops*, 482, 615.

was made to restore primitive fervour and regularity to the religious orders. One, however, must carefully distinguish between a reformation of discipline and the reformation, or rather revolution, in faith which would altogether upset the Church of God. The Franciscan convents of Armagh, and Waterford, and Cavan, with many others, underwent a reform. Actively alive was the spirit of penitential pilgrimage. In 1501, Edmund Burke, of Clanricard, returned from pilgrimage to Compostella; and Daniel O'Higgins, chief professor of poetry, after returning from a like pilgrimage, died;* in 1507, James Barry of Cork, accompanied by crowds of his people, went to Spain on the pilgrim's mission; † in 1510, Hugh O'Donnell, to the great sadness of his friends, went on a pilgrimage to Rome; Felix Maguire, in 1518, after a year's pilgrimage, in Spain, died. ‡

But the reader must not imagine that holy places peculiarly intended for prayer and pilgrimage at home were neglected. There was not a spot, all the land over, hallowed by the memorial or associations of some saint to which the spirit of devotion did not bear the pilgrim. One of the many severe and curious pilgrimages which took place may be found in the registries of Armagh. Under the influence of transient anger the father caused the death of the son. But sharp was the penance which he underwent. His name was Æneas M'Michael. In the spirit of pilgrimage "he visited Struhmolyn, in Regterlacgan, in Patre Kewan; also the bed of Cayn, § in Glendalough; also Ross Hyllery O'Garbre, in the country of M'Carbre Rewa, which was the principal purgatory there; also Skellig Neeghyll, in

* *Annals of the Four Mast.* † *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Kevin.

the country of M'Carthymore; also Arayn Nenaw;* also Cuoque Brennan, in the country of Knight of Kerry; also the shrines of Saints Flannan and M' Eaogein Munster; † also the Comttum of St. Patrick, in Connaught in Hymaile; also the Purgatory of St. Patrick at Logh Derg, in O'Donnell's country; also Errisskworgan of St. Gworen Anmerrys, Donmyl in Connaught; also Carnan Creagh, in the country of M'Swiney; Tyrebane, in the country of O'Donnell; also the Holy Cross at Waghterlawan, in Ormond country; also Carry Cassell; also O'Dwyne at Sawyl; and Craen yssa (Iosa), and Struyl." After going through this painful circuit the pilgrim was reserved for another course of penance. When the several pilgrimages were gone through the penitentiary of Armagh certified that the penitential spirit of the Church was carried out. ‡

Hand in hand with a love of penance and pilgrimage went a fondness for the religious profession. Saunders Lynch and Anastasia, his wife, enrolled themselves at Monte Fernandi, in 1521, in the Third Order of St. Francis; § in 1527, Gilla Riavach O'Clery entered the Franciscan Convent of Donegal; in 1528, O'Rourke, Lord of Breffny, and Finola, daughter of O'Brien, died in the habit of St. Francis; in 1529, M'Sweeny, Lord of Fanad, died in the habit of the Blessed Virgin Mary; || the O'Donnell

* Aran of the Saints, *Airin no naoma*.

† The shrine of Maccoige, abbot, was in Lismore. In the Museum of the R.I.A. is a large crucifix taken from the shrine of St. Flannan, which probably contained the relics of the saint.

‡ Dowdall's *Register*, p. 69.

§ I cannot see on what grounds the editor of the *Register* of All Hallows asserted that Multifernan. on the supposition that there was no mount in Galway, was at Drogheda rather than in Galway.—Hardiman's *Iar Connaught*, p. 2.

|| *Annals, Four Mast.*

died in 1537 in the Order of St. Francis. But notwithstanding the display of the heroic virtues, in many instances there were, especially within the Pale, serious drawbacks. It cannot be denied, indeed, that synods were of frequent occurrence. They took place yearly, and often in the year. But they are mentioned in the registers as taking place "among the English." The purity and simplicity of the age considered, the number of cases of divorce coming before the ecclesiastical courts is astounding. Of course the invalidity of the marriage contract from the beginning was the ground taken in applying for a divorce. Besides in the synods there had been occasional legislation against concubinage. But laics or ecclesiastics, the Anglo-Irish could not rid themselves of jealousy and distrust of the native clergy. The Archbishop of Armagh is summoned to parliament. For some reason he does not feel disposed to go. So far, however, from wishing to be represented by some dignitaries of the diocese, that he strongly recommended the non-summoning of the dean or chapter of Armagh. The insuperable objection he entertained to their presence in parliament was that they lived among and on friendly terms with the Irish.* A greater mistake could not be than to suppose that previous to the Reformation (or schism of Henry VIII.) the Irish Church enjoyed halcyon days. No; the prison, the rack, the sword, all the perverse ingenuity of the penal code did not endanger that Church as much as the disunion between the ecclesiastics of the old Irish and the ecclesiastics of the Pale. More welcome, then, than a recurrence of such disunion should be the fiercest persecution which would unite the members

* *Register of Octavian*, vol. ii.

of the same Church by ties of mutual aid and sympathy. Because on the same soil were two parties, each averse from imitating what was good, but too prone to adopt what was bad in the other. This spirit of isolation, the absence of sympathy was exhibited not only between the laics, but even the ecclesiastics of both sides. Hence the annual ecclesiastical meetings of the Primate of Armagh—who surely showed zeal in the convocation of synods—went forth and were chronicled down under the title *Councils among the English*.

Representing only a narrow sphere, and confining their influence perhaps within a still narrower compass, the councils were conducted with order and regularity. As a specimen let me select one held in 1533; and it will be the last which I shall notice. Due notice was given of the day on which the council was to be held. The day came, and the ecclesiastics met. Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by the Primate. A sermon, too, was preached before the high altar. Afterwards a procession forming wound round the church, and returning to the place whence the procession moved, they sang the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus." The bishop, laying aside his pontificals, took his seat in a judicial manner. It was decreed that no priest under pretext of devotion to any saint should read an office in his honour which was not given in the breviary, for the purpose of escaping the ferial office during the months of February, March, and April. However, an exception was made in honour of St. Patrick's festival. Furthermore, it was decreed that the feast of the translation of St. Mary Magdalene should be celebrated as a feast of nine lessons on the 14th of the kalends of April; that the feast of St. Columba should be celebrated, but not as a double, on the 5th

of the ides of June; that the feasts of the translation of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Bridget should be celebrated as a double on the day following the feast of St. Columba; that the feast of the translation of St. Edmund, Bishop and Confessor, should be celebrated with nine lessons on the ides of June; that there should be as often as convenient a weekly commemoration of St. Bridget; and that all were to abstain from servile work on the feasts of SS. Patrick, Columba, Bridget, and Malachy. The feast of St. Malachy was kept on the day after All Souls' Day.* Each priest was bound to be provided with a copy of the statutes before the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. They were to be read twice a year to the people: on a Sunday in August, and on a Sunday in March. Whoever failed to do so was fined forty pence.†

Exclusive as was the spirit manifested by the Anglo-Irish Church in Armagh, it was still more so in Dublin. Because the latter may be looked on as the heart of the Pale. In that place where the majesty of the law was most strikingly exhibited, and where a standard may be expected to be set up for the guidance of ruder districts, there occurred the last of the many disputes between laics and ecclesiastics which I shall notice. It throws light as well on the habits of the people as on the discipline and revenue of the Church. The dispute took place

* A privilege received by the Archbishop of Dublin shows how indifferent were the English monarchs or their missionaries to the cause of religion in Ireland. Archbishop Fitzsimon got leave to appoint to several parishes in his archdiocese, situated among the Irish enemy, because English clerics are not acquainted with the Irish language, and such as are even refused going among them. Under these circumstances the said archbishop was empowered by parliament to confer benefices for two years on Irish ecclesiastics.—Ware's *An. Henry VIII.*

† *Register of Cromer.*

between the monks of St. Thomas', Dublin, and some of the justices. The monks were in the habit of exacting some tribute. The justices refused to pay it. The abbey claimed some privileges, and the justices claimed exemption from their operations. However, the decision come to was, whenever there was a brewing to the amount of sixteen bushels that tolball, or tribute of a gallon and a half, should be paid to the monks; and if twelve bushels, each containing sixteen gallons, were brewed, that a gallon and a half of the second quality should be paid. Uninterrupted harmony did not come from this decision to the citizens and inmates of the abbey. Because, some three years afterwards, in 1527, several matters were litigated between them. A trial came on, and a decision was come to. By it the mayors were warranted without hindrance to bring water into the city. The abbey was bound to pay for its mills eight bushels of corn—four pecks in wheat and four in malt. The tribute awarded to the abbey in 1524 had been confirmed. Leave was given to the Abbey of St. Thomas, as to St. Mary's, to possess a boat and a right to fish. One condition was put to this privilege: the fish was not to be sold. Furthermore, it was determined to grant to the mayor, to the aldermen, and to the bailiffs, a right of passage through the abbot's meadow. The mass of the people were bound to take the highway. Those privileged to pass through the meadow were bound to do as little damage as possible. Provided the province of the king's coroner was not trenched on, the abbot received full power to correct all trespass done either to his convent or to the lands. And because there had been great trouble in gathering the rent of the fee-farm of the city in pence and halfpence, the abbot was ordered to remit sixteen shillings and

eightpence of the twenty marks yearly paid. In consideration of such payment the chapter house, over and above what it was bound to, by its order, was under an obligation of saying, especially on All Souls Day, a *De Profundis* for the souls of the king, his ancestors, the aldermen, and of the citizens of Dublin.

And here it is worth while to inquire whence the origin of the *De Profundis* after Mass, and so peculiar to Ireland. Various reasons are assigned for its use;* but I consider it took its rise from a desire to

* The groundlessness of these reasons will appear from a short letter of the writer to the *I. E. Record*, in Oct., 1866:—"To the Editors of the *I. E. Record*. Gentlemen—A 'Constant Reader' accounts for the origin of the *De Profundis* in the July number of the *Record*, by saying 'that it was a commutation for the abstinence from flesh meat on Wednesday, once on a time usual in Ireland;' and concluded by asking how it is that 'bishops in Ireland are singular in making a distinction between eggs and white meats on Fridays in Lent, &c.' I doubt the soundness of the reason assigned. Abstinence from meat on Saturdays had been usual in Ireland till a comparatively late period. Why not then have some similar penance or commutation for its abolition, if a penance had been enjoined for a commutation of the abstinence on Wednesday? Again, there had been as much reason for binding the laic as the ecclesiastic on such a supposition. Besides, why appoint the hour of Mass for saying the prayer rather than any other time? Furthermore, abstinence from meat on Wednesdays prevailed in other churches as in Ireland. Why, then, not find the *De Profundis* repeated there as well as in Ireland? And then as to the argument put forward by 'Constant Reader,' 'that he heard it from an old parish priest forty years on the mission, who heard it when young from another who had been very old.' I reply that I never heard anything of the sort, but quite different from an old parish priest fifty years on the mission, who had conversed when young with old, very old parish priests on the discipline of the Irish Church. In the last number of the *Record*, a writer styling himself 'Dubliniensis,' while helping to upset the theory put forward by 'Constant Reader,' fails to establish his own. It is 'that the *De Profundis* took its rise during the Cromwellian wars, and was a substitute for the burial service difficult or impossible of performance at that time; and hence the custom of praying for the dead after meals, by saying *Fidelium*

compensate for the loss of the divine offices for departed benefactors. Prayers in the office were not confined to Ireland. Cardinal Bona assures us that

animæ, &c." But I would only direct the attention of 'Dublinensis' to the lengthy prayers in the Roman Breviary for meals; and he will observe that *Fidelium animæ, &c.*, are almost the last words, or rather, with the exception of the sentence, *Dominus det nobis suam pacem*, the very last words in the lengthy, audible prayers prescribed for *grace*. Then, as regards the burial service, if it were commuted into the *De Profundis*, might we not expect that when the burial service was resumed generally that the *De Profundis* would cease? But no; the substitute for the funeral service was and is the blessing of the earth by the prayer, 'Deus cujus miseratione animæ fidelium requiescunt,' &c. Of course the *De Profundis* might be, and was used, but the other was essentially the substitute for the burial service. Besides, it was difficult during the Cromwellian wars not only to read the burial service, but even to celebrate Mass even for congregations, not to speak of individuals, as 'Dublinensis' insists on. Therefore, the addition of the *De Profundis* after Mass could not be so much a substitution for the burial service in each particular instance, as a comprehensive commemoration of all whose wants excited pity, or whose services gave rise to an obligation on priests. Moreover, the clearest proof that a commemoration of deceased benefactors at Mass did not arise during the wars of Cromwell is afforded by one of the canons enacted at Clonmacnois in 1624:—'Orent parochi inter solemnia missarum *nominatim* pro defunctis suis parochianis maxime benefactoribus reipublicæ.' This of course was not an order merely to follow the rubrics which prescribe prayers for the dead in the *Canon* of Mass.

"And that prayers were used at the end of mass appears from a canon made in a provincial Tuam council in 1640:—"Statuit quod nullus sacerdos præter pastores locorum astantibus indicet precibus post missam aliquid addere aut diminuere ad libitum.' Finally, in regard to the abstinence on Wednesday, it was not peculiar to Ireland. Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, were days of abstinence. The first was fixed on because our Saviour was betrayed; Friday, because He suffered; and Saturday, as the vigil of the Sunday festival. And when in addition to the usual abstinence on Friday there was ordered the fast of lent or *Quatuor Times*, it seemed fit to the Irish bishops to distinguish between the white meats used then and at other times on Fridays, or between the white meats allowed on Friday and Wednesday. On that account eggs were allowed on the Wednesdays and not on the Fridays in Lent. And that white meats without eggs are allowed in other places, too, may be gathered from *Scavini* (vol. i., p. 262, 4th Ed.)—See *Bened. xiv., Institut. Eccles.—Laonensis.*"

when the number of benefactors became large in every well-regulated community, instead of calling out the names of all benefactors the chanting of the *De Profundis*, with a suitable prayer, had been substituted. There had been an obligation of making a commemoration in the offices for a stated period or for ever. Hence, on their interruption, that most touching of the prayers for the dead was substituted. Not, indeed, that there had been a strict obligation to do so. Besides the psalm *De Profundis* touchingly expressed the helpless state in which the Irish Church was placed by penal laws, and continued a protest against the false religion of the so-called Reformers. What wonder, then, that this prayer, warranted by many reasons during the days of persecution, should continue to the present day after Mass, when we find it in use in the early and middle ages even in Ireland. The Irish Church, so tenacious of ancient customs—its chorepiscopi, acolytes, exorcists, readers, its liturgies—what little reason for marvel that it retained its *De Profundis* called for by charity if not justice.

Another reason why the psalm in question may be looked on as a commutation for the offices is that it is affected by the same causes, and almost in the same way as the offices. The *De Profundis* is not said, I believe, at least generally after High Mass or solemn Mass for the dead. Well, even when religious orders were bound by vow to say the psalm *De Profundis* daily, they were inhibited from doing so on All Souls Day, and on the day of the death and burial. And this happened even though there had been a bequest left for the purpose of saying a *De Profundis* daily.* Again, the nuns of the Monastery of Chagas

* Gardellini, n, 4085 ; *Officium Def.*

by a decision of July, 1741, were allowed to chant the Responsory for the dead unless on the most solemn festivals, and even on these to recite it privately in choir, lest the pious disposition of testators should be frustrated.* Gardellini also informs us (n. 4687) that there had been an immemorial custom in the Church of Milan, of repeating the 129th psalm (*De Profundis*) with a suitable prayer after the divine offices for the souls in purgatory, especially those of all benefactors. All this leaves no reasonable doubt that the *De Profundis* was intended in charity or justice as a compensation for the divine offices interrupted by persecution.

The ministers of religion in Armagh or in Dublin did not inspire the people either with respect or confidence. The dignitaries in the Church rivalled the great ones of the State as well in magnificence as in the pursuit of honour. Hence the people forgot that respect which was due to the ministers of the Gospel. In 1503, the Earl of Kildare, in apologising for burning the Cathedral of Cashel, said "he thought the archbishop was in it."† Nor did the ecclesiastics themselves pay all the respect due to their superiors. The Archdeacon of Leighlin, Cavanagh, stands before us as the murderer of a man of good repute. That man was his bishop.‡ That mischievous spirit of exclusion which marked the first appearance of the Anglo-Irish Church, clung to it to the very last. None unless recommended not by worth but base compliance with Government may expect promotion.§

* *Gardellini*, n. 4117.

† Ware.

‡ Dr. Doran, when urged to lay heavy contributions on the people to meet the expenses he was at, answered that his people may be fleeced but must not be flayed.—Ware's *Annals*.

§ Pope Leo X. is said to have issued a bull by which Irish ecclesiastics were excluded from the Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, though qualified by letters from the king.

Hence the gloomy description given of ecclesiastics. "Some say that the prelates of the Church and the clergy are much the cause of all the disorder of the land; for there is no archbishop, bishop, abbot, prior, parson, vicar, no person in the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, who used to preach the Word of God—saving the poor begging friars. And when the Word of God do cease there can be no grace; and without it this land may never be reformed."* The picture, indeed, may have been overdrawn, but considering that the Anglo-Irish Church made the priesthood a sort of hereditary caste, we can without any tints from fiction be prepared for a dark sketch. The dignitaries of the Church, as described in the State Papers, were not very edifying. And such as they were, there was no disposition to give to them the vacant sees. The diocese of Leighlin was kept vacant for many years.† In 1516, the Archbishop of Armagh, without loss of dignity, prebend, or temporalities, got leave from the king to be absent in England as long as he wished. In 1523, with the like impunity, he got leave to be absent for a year and a half.‡ From the unworthiness or absence of the pastors the flock was neglected and scattered. Moreover, there were disputes between the regular and secular clergy. The question relative to the "funeral portion" was again ventilated. And though I touched on the matter before, still as it became long after this a source of contention, I will give a fuller explanation of its nature.

The natural and canon law sanctioned to any individual the right of choosing his own burial-place.

* *State Pap.*, Part. III., vol. ii.

† It was kept vacant, according to Ware, for four, according to Dowling's *Annals*, for six years.

‡ *Rymer* (Old), *Liber Mun.*

Boniface VIII., Innocent III., Lucius III., and Sixtus IV. issued decrees in vindication of that right. Even the wife might chose a different place of sepulture from the husband.* Those who chose for burial ground the cemeteries of religious houses were promised indulgences.† Such indulgences, however, were not necessary to attract people to the monastic cemeteries. The holy monk, the mitred abbot, the rapt illuminated friar rested there; and this was sufficient inducement to the faithful to yearn for a like resting-place. As the funeral portion was a source of considerable revenue, and as the pontiffs did not wish to see the secular clergy shorn of such revenue, they decreed that a due regard should be paid to the churches from which the corpses were carried. This decision was variously interpreted. Some by it understood half, others a fourth, and many a third of the funeral proceeds. But whatever was granted or claimed by the cathedral or parochial church, went under the name of the "funeral quarters," or "canonical portion." This portion had reference not to bequests, but to the lights and the other apparatus necessary to the funeral service. The matter in dispute was referred to the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, who had been sub-procurator to the religious orders. He decided in favour of the regulars. He published a decree to that effect. Another decree of a like nature followed from the Archbishop of Cashel, procurator to the order. And though for this time the affair was set at rest, yet not long after it became a matter of fierce contention.‡

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 88.

† *Ibid.*

‡ In reference to this matter the Council of Trent, session 25, cap. 15, decreed that, when the "fourth portion was paid to the parochial church (not episcopal church, because the regulars were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction) for forty years back, dating

Here it may be worth while to consider formally what importance is to be attached to the statement—that the old Irish Church was less Ultramontane, less under papal influence than the Church of the *Pale*. Perhaps the statement can receive no fairer test than by turning and confining our attention to the sees of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe. Because the power of the O'Neils had been unbroken in these dioceses up to the Reformation; and still more because the English monarchs up to the reign of James I., according to Sir John Davis, but surely up to the Reformation, did not appoint to the bishoprics of the above dioceses. And, first of all, let us look to Derry. In the year 1247, the Bishop of Rathlure wrote to the then Pope for permission to remove the

from 1564, the payment should be continued to the said church. And this was to take effect notwithstanding any privilege, or though it may have been given for pious uses or for hospitals. However, it was not to be paid by houses thenceforth to be founded. Houses were not to pay the funeral portion which had not done so within forty years. The funeral portion did not include or concern bequests, or donations, or money for the celebration of Masses, or the anniversary.—*Sess. de Reformat.*

This decree has been more fully explained, if not somewhat modified, by a Constitution of Benedict XIII., in 1725, *Romanus Pontifex*: In reference to the light it decrees, “et prædicta tamen quarta funerali exceptæ intelliguntur et sint candelæ quas Sacerdotes etiam Regulares. . . . funus associantes manualiter per viam accensæ deferent. Quod si funus non fieret in die tumulationis, sed ad diversam diem, vel ad aliud longius tempus differretur, Parocho nihilominus assignetur quarta pars. . . . Hæc porro omnia locum habeant et exacta in posterum observentur quotiescunque Defunctus extra suam parochialem ecclesiam tumulatur, vel exponatur sive quia in ecclesia tumulante vel exponente beneficium obtinuerit, sive quia ibidem sepulcrum habuerit gentilitium, sive tandem quia in ea sepulturam elegerit. . . . Ubi vero consuetudines legitime probatæ, conventiones, concordiæ, vel statutæ vigerent, quæ præfatas Parochis magis faverent, illisque pinguiorem prædicta quarta emolumentorum funeralium portionem assignarent ea in iis in quibus videntur locis, inconcussæ ab omnibus observari sancimus.”

cathedral from Rathlure to Derry. The Pope instituted a commission of inquiry into the statement and grounds of application by Dr. O'Cherballen ; and in doing so complied with the request on the verification of some conditions. It was done by the power and kindness of the Apostolic See.* Again, in the year 1254, the grant was confirmed† by Innocent IV. from the plenitude of power in the Apostolic See. Well, again, in 1349, Symon was appointed Bishop of Derry by papal authority. Not only so, but Clement VI. adds, "that no other person besides us can interfere in providing for the Church of Derry." Can anything be clearer or stronger ?

In turning over the annals of Raphoe the exercise of papal influence is strikingly manifested. At the latter end of the twelfth century we saw that Pope Innocent III. obliged the then Bishop of Raphoe to resume the administration of his diocese, because he did not resign according to canonical form ; and, having done so by-and-by, his resignation was accepted by the same Pontiff. So, too, in the year 1254, Innocent IV. commissioned the Archbishop of Armagh to receive the resignation of its bishop, and comply "with his humble request."‡

By-and-by, when abuses crept into the diocese and trouble came on the bishop, who was applied to for help to remedy the abuses and console the bishop ? No other than the Roman Pontiff. He was "suppliantly besought to send missionaries to enlighten the minds"§ and soften the hearts of the erring. By

* De benignitate et auctoritate Sedis Apostolicæ,

† Speciali mandato nostro . . . auctoritate Sedis Apostolicæ.

‡ Humiliter supplicavit.

§ Instigante diabolo non solum idola et suas consanguineas et affines in uxores ducere non abhorrent. And then, when reprov'd for these excesses, they plotted the destruction of the censor, children of iniquity as they were.

the paternal aid of the Pontiff and preaching of the good Franciscans the abuses were remedied in 1255.

In a very short time afterwards, in the year 1263, the diocese of Raphoe had been vacant. Some of the chapter elected Henry, an archdeacon; others the Abbot of the Black Abbot of Derry. The archdeacon was opposed by the Archbishop of Armagh, but appealed to Rome. He died before a decision had been given on the matter. The rival candidate was set aside by Rome, and a Franciscan appointed. He was released from all vows that might have interfered with the acceptance of ecclesiastical dignities. And then the Pontiff, who had to offer violence to the humility of the good Franciscan, proceeds:—"Therefore, in virtue of holy obedience and in atonement for your sins submit to the burden put on you. We charge you to do so by our apostolic commands. Relying on our favour, proceed to that church (Raphoe); watch and see that the flock committed to you be directed into the path of eternal life by your words and example, and thus rescued from the snares of everlasting death, may be brought to the enjoyment of never-ending bliss. Let the Church flourish under your vigilant zeal. And, because we have had regard not to you personally, but to the Church of Raphoe, undertake its charge courageously in the name of the Lord, in all patience and learning and in the fear of God."

Such a beautiful letter does credit to the Pontiff who penned it, as well as to the holy friar to whom it was addressed. By the same post the Pontiff wrote to the chapter, clergy, and people of Raphoe in favour of the bishop sent them, and to reconcile them to their disappointment for their own nominees.

With regard to the third diocese, so early as 1217 Honorius III. wrote to the Bishop of Clogher to

adjust the difference between the see of Mayo and the Archbishop of Tuam in the name of the Holy See. Not very long afterwards, in the year 1237, Gregory IX. wrote to the bishops of Killaloe and Ardagh to see to the election of a bishop for Clogher. The succession was disputed. One candidate was consecrated by the Archbishop of Tuam, another was proposed by the Archbishop of Armagh. The Pope, in addressing the commissioners, winds up by saying: "Appoint a fixed period within which both parties are to appear before us either personally or by proxy, and will receive an impartial judgment."

In the year 1289, there had been disputes about the succession of Clonmacnois. Nicholas IV. wrote to the Bishop of Clogher and to the Primate of Armagh to decide the dispute. He ordered them to proceed in the matter, because he relied on their prudence. Again, in 1292, the Pontiff empowered the Bishop of Clogher to dispense an acolyte, Mitinuolynd, in an impediment arising out of illegitimacy.* In the year 1326, Pope John XXII. addressed his venerable brother, the Bishop of Clogher, to see to the respectability of the archdiocese of Armagh by uniting some benefices to it. In the year 1354, Gregory XI. wrote likewise to his venerable brother of Clogher, and gave him faculties to dispense personally or through another, a Franciscan in illegitimacy. The same took place with regard to the Bishop of Derry. Then, too, in 1373, Pope Gregory in appointing John Bishop of Clogher states, "that no person besides us can appoint to it." Finally, in 1515, when there had been question of providing for the see, Henry VIII. recommends Patrick Culwyn. The proud monarch does not

* Vid. Theiner.

pretend to the right of nomination, does not question the Pope's inalienable right, but besought* His Holiness to deign to appoint Patrick Culwyn. In the year 1324, Pope John XXII. wrote to the Archbishop of Armagh and to his suffragans in reference to Lewis of Bavaria. He had been deposed by the Pope. The Pope notified the deposition to the primate and suffragans, and ordered them to have it published through their respective dioceses. The primate in reply said: "In cheerful obedience to the commands of your Holiness, as in duty bound, I had my venerable brothers the bishops of Derry and Clogher summoned, who met with the clergy and people on the 25th day of June, 1325. And before a vast concourse of the clergy and laics, I caused your instructions as ordered to be read and explained in English and in the Irish language, and having ordered all my suffragans to do the same, I have in all reverence executed the commands of your holiness." However, it is for the sake of the dioceses of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher I introduce the suffragans of the primate in this matter.

So, again, when there had been question of paying the apostolic tax, no dioceses had been more prominent than the three ultra-Irish ones. In 1363, the Bishop of Clogher paid through Thomas Bishop of Lismore. As a consequence of acknowledgment of Roman supremacy, the dioceses of Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher professed thoroughly Catholic doctrine. In the year 1183, Malachy O'Carroll, Bishop of Clogher, made a present to the monastery of the B. V. Mary. In the year 1308, on September 6th, the Right Rev. Dr. Matthew M'Cohey translated

* *Rogamus* que sanctitatem tuam ut eundem magistrum Patri-
cium Culwyn dictæ ecclesiæ Clogherensi proficere dignetur.

the relics of SS. Constans in Lough Erne, and of Fergumath, Bishop of Cutmain, into appropriate shrines. In 1395, Arthur M'Camceil, Bishop of Clogher, built a monastery under the invocation of the B. V. Mary. In 1469, Laurence O'Gallaher, Bishop of Raphoe, as a matter of course, submitted to the penance imposed by the primate. Now, the most prejudiced do not deny the subjection of the primate to Rome. Therefore, in submitting to the primate, the Bishop of Raphoe surely was subject to the successor of St. Peter. In 1426, Donald, Bishop of Derry, submitted to penance imposed by the primate, at the suggestion of Rome, for a violation of Catholic discipline. Again, annalists inform us that the primate, on account of some trouble arising out of the temporalities of the see, visited the clergy of Raphoe with censures, and punished the people by taking from them a time-honoured cross, which they much prized, and which restored sight to the blind. The Irish and Anglo-Irish were believers in the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors. And if one were less Ultramontane than another, it was the Anglo-Irish. The annals of the three most Irish dioceses in the Irish Church exhibit nothing to be compared for undutifulness to Rome, for a tendency towards the lamentable schism of the sixteenth century, with a declaration of the Archdeacon of Ossory. John Cantwell having been sub-collector for the Apostolic See, was regarded with jealousy. Before sworn into office in Chancery, in 1431, he was asked to promise what he should have been firm enough to repudiate, even though the king was spiritually disloyal to ask it. The fifth clause bound Cantwell not to execute any mandate from the Pope to the prejudice of the king. The sixth bound him to lay all papal letters before the king's council previously

to their publication. By the seventh he was bound not to send moneys to the Pope from Ireland without leave from the king or council. The eighth and tenth clauses bound him not to send letters to the Pope to the prejudice of the king, or levy first-fruits on benefices given by the king or by the Pope in the way of *expectancy*. The eleventh bound him not to introduce novelties without the special licence of the king, and showing the cause of mandate to the king or council. The twelfth clause forbade him going out of Ireland without special licence under the great seal.*

Numberless facts in the course of this history have turned up to prove the calumnious nature of the statement that the Popes helped to crush the native clergy. That some recommendations of the native clergy were disregarded can be admitted, because the Pope had good reasons for so acting. That many promotions of the English took place is beyond question, because many of them would do credit to any church. But that there had been a systematic leaning against the Irish is without a shadow of foundation: so far from this being the case, that Popes encountered opposition from the powerful and turbulent to do justice to merit.

I will not repeat what has been stated before in reference to the protection afforded the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the Irish by Rome, when Robert Travers was sought to be intruded on Killaloe, and all benefices closed against the Irish. And first of all we are met by a very curious case, sufficiently interesting in itself, in the reign of Honorius III. A charge had been made against a priest of Armagh by one Hel and others, who suborned witnesses. It

* Pat. Rolls, 10th Henry VI.

was made before the Archdeacon of Armagh, an Englishman. He entertained the charge, which involved murder; and by the conditions made, he put the accused in the impossibility of defending himself against the perjured witnesses. It became customary that as many should be got of the same language and in the same diocese to swear to the innocence of the accused as swore to his guilt. The English archdeacon, who afterwards became primate, bound the accused to procure fifty-eight ecclesiastics in Armagh who would swear to his innocence. In vain he protested that there were not so many using the same language and of the same country in the diocese. He therefore appealed to the Pope. And Honorius III. at once ordered the Archbishop of Armagh to reduce the number to seven; and that if these seven swore to the innocence of the accused, the purgation should be deemed canonical, and the innocence of the accused established: and failing his doing so, he commissioned the abbots of St. Mary's and St. Thomas's, Dublin, and the Prior of Blessed Trinity to absolve the accused.

Again, look to the conduct of Nicholas IV. In 1290, he wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, and ordered him to provide for the archdeaconry of Glendalough. He insisted that a native and no other should be promoted.*

Looking the annals of 1482 over, I find that the chapter and people and great ones of Lismore and Waterford objected to a nominee for the bishopric. Amongst the leaders of opposition we see the Rices and Butlers. They objected to the election of Nicholas merely because he did not speak or understand the English language; in other words, he was

* Mandamus . . . de ejusdem partibus Hiberniæ oriundus.

an Irishman. How did the Sovereign Pontiff act? Did he fall in with the powerful, and so carry out the scheme of annihilating the Irish clergy, as attributed to him? No; he disregarded the remonstrance, and ordered all in Waterford and Lismore, people and priests, to receive the Irish bishop under pain of "disobedience and suspension." And prior in point of time comes the case of the Archbishop of Cashel, in 1254. David was elected to rule the See of Cashel. The suffragan bishops objected to his election. More than that, the king was opposed to it because he "was bound by ties of blood and friendship with the Irish chieftains—he was of the lordly family of the O'Carroll's—yet the objection of the king weighed as nought in the eyes of the Pontiff against the merit of O'Carroll, who was consecrated archbishop.

In 1310, Pope Clement V. came to the relief of a persecuted Irish ecclesiastic. His name was James O'Daclich, a native of Galway. From a desire of greater perfection, he left the Order of Minors and joined the Benedictines of Germany. He was excommunicated, but the Pope came to the rescue and gave him leave to enter any house of the Cistercian Order. Again, the State papers tells us that in 1520 the diocese of Cloyne was vacant, and that the Lord Deputy, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, stated "that great suit is made to him for it, and it is supposed to be worth 200 marks. His advice is that it should be bestowed on some Englishman. The Bishop of Leighlin, methinks, might do good service there. I beseech your Grace, let none from this country (Ireland) have it." Yet the Pope did not appoint an Englishman, but an Irishman and namesake of St. Patrick. So, too, when the Irish Orders of Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites

were annoyed by the English bishops, who prevented them from hearing confessions or receiving alms on account of the disputes with the Primate FitzRalph, he commanded them not to molest in the least the Irish ecclesiastics. And once again, when the powerful family of the De Burkes takes possession of a benefice in Clonfert, to the prejudice of Nicholas O'Fayht, an Irishman, at once the Pope, in the year 1465, commissioned the Abbot of SS. Peter and Paul on the Fergus, the Dean of Killaloe, and Dermot O'Grady, Canon of Killaloe, to proceed and install O'Fayht into the benefice unlawfully possessed by Edmund De Burke, the Anglo-Norman.*

Ample as were the dispensations accorded to the Irish Church on some occasions by the Sovereign Pontiffs, in other respects the sinews of discipline remained unrelaxed.

Notwithstanding the distance from Rome and the privileges granted to the archbishops of confirming the bishops of the province when elected, the privileges of bishops in other respects were rather restricted. Thus, for instance, in case of absolution, the Bishop of Clonfert got faculties to absolve only ten persons, and only once from the excommunication incurred by offering violence to ecclesiastics, but on condition that their excesses were not enormous.

Thus, also, in regard to cases of dispensation in the impediments of matrimony, far more restricted was the law then than now. William Lebretil and a lady of noble birth, Joanna Fetifelt, were united in marriage, labouring, however, though unconsciously, under the impediment arising from the fourth de-

* Surely it was not from the Pope the cry first came, "No Irishman need apply."

gree of relationship. They appear to have been in Waterford, as they applied to its bishop for a dispensation, but he had to apply to Rome for faculties.

So, too, notwithstanding the difficulty of communication, were the visits to Rome more frequent and binding on bishops than at present. They were bound to visit triennially. This is brought out very clearly by a letter from Pope Clement III. to his Nuncio, directing him to proceed, in the year 1344, against the Archbishop of Armagh, bound, as stated, to a triennial visit to the shrines of the Apostles, or pay for each instance of neglect 50 marks sterling to the Apostolic Chamber; and, as the visit had been neglected for fourteen years, he was in arrears of 100 marks.

The bishop made a piteous appeal, and the Pope commissioned the Nuncio to relax any punishment inflicted on him in mercy to himself and his Church.

While the Church in all ages helped the weakness of our nature and encouraged devotion by the use of indulgences, yet they were not then as ample as in aftertimes. In the year 1372, Pope Gregory XI. helped on a work of religion in Dublin by an indulgence.

Those who helped the church of St. John Baptist, outside Dublin, or visited it, having confessed their sins penitently on the feasts of the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Pentecost, Resurrection, the Ascension, Corpus Christi; also the Nativity, Annunciation, Presentation, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; also on the Nativity of St. John Baptist, of SS. Peter and Paul, on that of All Saints, on the dedication of the church, also on the octaves of the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Corpus Christi; of the Nativity and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of St. John Baptist, of SS. Peter and Paul, and the

six days immediately following the feast of Pentecost, on each day of the festivals of All Saints and dedication of the church, shall receive a relaxation of the punishment imposed on them* for a year and 40 days, but on their octaves and the six days of Pentecost 100 days of relaxation. Here we have mention of the redemption of punishment for ~~sin~~ which one who carps at the legislation of the Church would dwell on without calling attention to the fact that a good confession was required as a necessary condition, and that this confession supposed necessarily sorrow for the past, and a sincere purpose of amendment for the future.

The power of giving dispensations was not confined to prelates. Thus, the Count of Desmond got leave for his confessor to dispense all religious who came to his table in eating meat on all days not generally forbidden, provided they were not bound by vow or oath to abstain.† Maurice, son of Thomas Desmond, got it.

In the year 1467, Pope Calixtus III. appointed John Bole, Archbishop of Armagh, as commissary for gathering tithes of all property even of those exempted by former Pontiffs, and of all religious orders, for recovering the city of Constantinople from the Turks, and ordered him to communicate with the archbishops and bishops, and to have tithes collected in each diocese and enforced by censures and the secular arm. Then, if the collectors are remiss in account-

* The penances then must have been very sharp, unless we suppose the relaxation of a year and forty days to refer to the canonical penances, and yet the Pope speaks of "penitentiis eis injunctis."

† Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 343, where a curious privilege is given—that of wearing the hats peculiar to the Order during offices and processions unless during the Gospel and at the elevation of the Body of Our Lord, owing to the cold climate and danger of sickness.

ing for the tithes gathered, they are to be compelled within a limited time by censures and excommunicated, and cited and handed over to the secular arm.

Then we are introduced to the *composition for sins*. "If any person be touched by penance to restore what was badly acquired by plunder, theft, robbery, usury, or any other way, and wishes to restore and confess to the confessors deputed by you to absolve from these excesses, suitable penance is to be imposed on them; and provided the parties to whom restitution should be made be unknown,* to compound with the penitents as to the restitution to be made, and remit in regard to what is offered for the work, that all more willingly may contribute, we wish that all the faithful of Christ who shall give two nobles of their property or otherwise, according to the composition between you and your substitute for this good work, which the confessor whom they shall choose can give them, having been contrite and duly confessed, pardon all their sins reserved, and a plenary remission at the hour of death, and from the vow of abstinence and pilgrimage, which cannot be conveniently kept by them, unless that to SS. Peter and Paul and St. James of Compostella."

Here we have a composition for sin, but contrition was required. Money dishonestly required was recommended to be given to advance a good work, but it was accepted only on condition that the true owners could not be found.

In the year 1490, Pope Innocent VIII. grants faculties to the Archbishop of Tuam for dispensing in the degrees of relationship, owing to the distance from the Roman Court, adding "that wars and dissen-

* "Penitentiam salutarem eis injungere, et incertæ sint personæ quibus sit restitutio facienda."—Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*

sions prevailed sometimes, and, as a consequence, loss of human life, plundering of churches, rapine of ecclesiastical property, and that marriages between contending parties have been found very efficacious in reconciling them and cementing a lasting friendship ; that thus they marry even within the forbidden degrees, and remain in that state of excommunication incurred thereby. Owing to the distance from the Apostolic See, they cannot approach it, and if they ever venture to do so, they or their messengers are in danger of being robbed or killed. On that account, he gave faculties to dispense forty-five men and women within the province, in the third degree related, in a simple or quadruple or manifold manner, equally or unequally, in consanguinity or affinity, and with thirty-five others (man and wife counting as one) who shall have contracted marriage, knowingly or unknowingly, within the same degrees, and absolving them from all censures, having imposed a salutary penance on them, and from those who knowingly contracted, receiving an oath that they would never commit the like, encourage any to do so, and to separate them for some time that may appear fit, in order to their being married anew, provided the women had not been ravished for that purpose, that the faculties were to last two years from the receipt of them ; that the validity depended on the observance of the number and manner of dispensation. The Pontiff directed that the names and surnames of the parties dispensed, their dioceses, the day on which dispensation was given, would be sent to the Apostolic officials, signed and sealed with the archbishop's name and seal." These faculties were deemed ample then, though limited in number and time and confined to the third degree of relationship.*

* Theiner, *Vet. Monum.*, p. 504.

Monastic institutions played a most important part in the Irish Church. We can scarcely appreciate their services to religion. There may have been some exceptions, but on the whole they were great strongholds of science and religion. In a short time we shall see them fall before the attack of the Vandalic plunderer. To give some notion of them then, I will consider them in their material and moral constitution.

In nothing, neither in the arts, nor sciences, nor in religion was the Irish Church so indebted to the stranger as in architecture. The buildings in the service of religion before the invasion of the English were of a very unpretending character in Ireland. The door was generally to the west; the windows were narrow, and splayed inwardly and always unglazed, because glass for the purposes of glazing was almost unknown.* The chevron, or zigzag moulding, was occasionally in use; and though in the eleventh century the incidental pointed arch appeared, as in St. Mary's, in Dublin, yet the doorway was square, or rather the jambs, the sides of the door somewhat inclined towards the top. And then the churches were small in dimensions; seldom did they reach sixty feet in length, and never more. Poverty of spirit was displayed even in the service of God. There was a fear of magnificence. The churches built by St. Patrick being of a temporary nature, thrown up to meet the wants of the hour, were of a very unpretending character. The church of Armagh did not much exceed sixty feet in length. But what was the effect of chance or necessity or the creature of circumstances in St. Patrick's conduct

* Petrie's *Round Towers*. Yet glass, and stained too, was in use as early, probably, as the seventh century.—*Vid. Leabhar Breac*, p. 254.

was put down by his faithful followers as the result of heavenly inspiration. Hence the dread of having any building of larger dimensions than that of Armagh, and seldom was it equalled. But much as the humble structures and "dim religious light" showed and fostered a childlike devotional feeling, yet in an architectural point of view the buildings were not striking. But by the coming of the Anglo-Norman was introduced the Gothic architecture.* The chief characteristic of this was the pointed arch. There were several sorts of Gothic, and each may have differed in details from the others, as the Gothic itself did from another order. As in England, so in Ireland there were three styles of Gothic: 1. The Early English style. 2. The Ornate. 3. The Perpendicular, or florid style. The characteristic of the first style was that the arch of the window or the door formed an acute angle. It resembled a lance. Hence the window was called "lancet." The walls were thick; the doors deeply recessed. There was a succession of columns which supported an archivolt† formed of plain mouldings.‡ Sometimes on the top were grimacing heads. Two small doors beside the great western one were intended to symbolize the Trinity. When three lancets were used in a window the centre lancet was most elevated. Though not common, yet the use of the three lancets was occasionally to be met with. This first

* Some attribute the Gothic style to the Goths, and say that the idea of the arch was borrowed from the interlacing of the trees in the forest, with which they were familiar. Warburton, Sir James Ware, and Fenelon say it was Arabic, modified by Goths in Spain. Others trace it to the Saracens, while a large number see in the Gothic only a corruption of the Roman and Grecian styles.

† Archivolt was circular mouldings round an arch, extending from capital to capital.

‡ Mouldings were ornaments on the face of a wall or column.

style then prevailed from about 1190 to the end of the thirteenth century in ecclesiastical buildings, and from the beginning to the end of the fourteenth prevailed the second or decorated style. During this time projecting bays, called oriel windows, were used.* The walls of the church and the columns were less massive than in the first style; the arch became less pointed. Some three lancets were not uncommon, and in the compartments of the windows trefoils and quatrefoils were used.† The third, the Perpendicular or florid style, prevailed from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the sixteenth. Its chief characteristic was that the angle became obtuse, scarcely perceptible. The window became larger by the multiplication of lancets. Sometimes there were five, sometimes seven lancets. A horizontal transom ran dividing the window. The ornament about the arch and the columns was profuse. On account of the peculiar arrangement of the tracery on the window heads, the third style was called Perpendicular. Others contend that it should have been called the horizontal, because the arch became more depressed, the roof low pitched, the hoodmoulds square, and the transoms horizontal.‡

The windows, or the mullions of the light,§ instead of branching into flowing lines, are continued vertically to the intrados.|| Secondary mouldings, too, are continued in the same direction from the centre of each light, and converge once or twice before they

* They were so called from the oratories on which they were first used; others think they were so called from Oriel College, Oxford, on which they were said to be for the first time used.

† Trefoil represented three leaves of a flower; quatrefoil represented four leaves of a cruciform flower.

‡ *Vid. Nicholson's Cyclop. of Architecture.*

§ Mullion was a shaft of stone.

|| Intrados was the interior curve of the arch.

reached the arch. Perpendicular lines prevailed through the tracery of the perpendicular style. In the first style not only was the window of a lancet form, but there was a great simplicity about it. While the lancets increased in number during the second style and increased the size of the window, the ornament, too, was much increased. It pervaded the tracery; and the groining, instead of having the timber simply interlace, got a rich, ornamented appearance. The columns, too, partook of the same ornate character; the capitals became shorter, but richer in foliage; the buttresses became more projecting for the support of flying ones, which sprung from their summit; the column became more elevated; and the spires terminated in a top with a bunch of foliage. In the third style the trefoil and quatrefoil gave way to rich, luxuriant ornament. It is to be observed that during the second style the ornament reached from the spire to the very pavement. The tile and tessellated pavement were so curiously wrought that in following the intricate meanderings of the volutes on a single block a few feet in diameter, one may travel more than a mile. Then, too, did the glass receive those various, and beautiful, and lasting colours which made it, even after the lapse of ages, an object of admiration and envy to the most fastidious from the Continent.* Tabletombs, too, not unfrequently were placed on the floor. Those in Kilkenny belonged to the Ormonds, Mountgarrets, and the Carrick house. With an increase of ornament, the Gothic style brought an increase in the size of the buildings in Ireland; they were not, indeed, as large as those in England.

* Bishop Ledred gave the finishing hand to the Cathedral of Kilkenny in 1318. The windows were furnished with pieces in stained glass. The nuncio Rinuccini, in the seventeenth century, offered £500 for it.—Graves' *Cathedral of St. Canice*.

Accurate as may be our notion of what is meant by the three styles of Gothic from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, it will not suffice to give us a perfect idea of the architecture in Ireland. Because like everything sought to be established in Ireland by the English, it had by yielding to modifications to pay homage to the soil—to the genius of the land—of its adoption. The Irish ecclesiastical buildings in some respects bore a striking resemblance to those on the Continent. One at Muckross retained a round arch. That at Kilconnell looked like one in Italy or Spain. The battlements of Jerpoint reminded one of Italy. The same may be said of many buildings in Galway.* On the whole, however, the ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland were national ornaments. They are proud even in their ruins. There was the beautiful church of Kilkenny on the banks of the Nore. So magnificent was the window of St. John's, in Kilkenny, that the church was called the lantern of Ireland. There, too, come up before us the lovely Abbey of Dunbrody, and the beautiful Priory of Athassel on the Suir. And who would not weep over the abbeys of Mellifont, founded by Donogh O'Carroll, the Abbey of Jerpoint by Donagh O'Dough, and the Abbey of Boyle by M'Dermot of Moylurg? Accustomed to the buildings which, generally of late years, overspread the country—an oblong pile meeting another in the centre at right angles and a gallery or two thrown up inside—we must not, of course, be led to think they have been modelled on the ecclesiastical buildings of Ireland during the middle ages. There had been the nave, the lateral aisles, the transepts, the transepts' aisles, the choir, sometimes the choir aisles,

* *Vid.* Fergusson.—*Handbook of Architecture*, vol. ii.

the cleristery or friars' walk, and often Our Lady's Chapel under one roof.*

But the moral features of the monastic institutions in the Irish Church are still more interesting than the material. At the dissolution there were in Ireland some 537 religious houses. The Regular Canons of St. Augustine counted 231 houses; the Augustinian Canonesses 36 houses; the Order of Premonstre under St. Norbert counted 9; the Knights of Jerusalem, several of them occupying the lands of the Templars, counted 22; the Benedictine monks counted 9; the Benedictine nuns 5 houses; the Cistercian Order under St. Bernard counted 42;† the Cistercian nuns counted 2; the Dominicans counted 43; the Franciscans 70;‡ the Capuchins counted 2; Eremites of St. Augustine counted 27; the Order of Mary of Mount Carmel counted 25; and the Trinitarians for

* The nave of the Church of Armagh was about 93 feet in length, the transepts 123 feet, the choir 58 feet in length and 33 in breadth.

Christ Church was about 286 feet in length. The nave in length was about 126, in breadth 56 feet. The transepts were 88 feet 6 inches long, and 25 feet broad. The length of the choir was 108 feet.

St. Patrick's Church, including Our Lady's Chapel, was 285 feet in length, its nave 132 feet, the choir 96 feet, its transepts 145 feet. The breadth of the centre aisle was 29 feet. Each of the side aisles 13 feet. Breadth of the west aisle of the transept was 14 feet; that of the transept itself was 32 feet.

St. Canice's Church from east to west was 213 feet. The transept was 117 feet, 63 feet was the breadth of the nave. The nave was 167 feet in length, north side aisle 107 by 14 feet. The south aisle was of the same dimensions; north transept was 38 by 28 feet. The choir was 73 by 28 feet. Parish Church was 17 by 28 feet. Anchorite's cell 22 by 15. North Chapel 48 by 15. Open yard 12 by 15. Ancient chapter house 29 by 15. Our Lady's Chapel 28 by 20. Porch 18 by 15.—Dr. Graves' *St. Canice*.

† Of the twenty-six religious who sat in the Upper Parliament, thirteen were Cistercians; eight were priors of St. Augustine's order. The Abbot of Mellifont had the priory.

‡ There were at one time more than one hundred houses in

the redemption of captives numbered 52.* The Regular Canons of St. Augustine claimed some sort of connexion with the saint. They were introduced into Ireland in the eleventh century. Their mode of life was not as austere as that of the earlier monastic orders in the Irish Church. The Order of St. Congall was so strict that some seven, rather than indulge themselves, died of self-denial.† The Regular Canons, while they devoted themselves to the ecclesiastical functions, were bound by the evangelical counsels and to certain common laws. There were, too, Canonesses of St. Augustine who followed the rule said to have been laid down by the saint. Under the rules of St. Augustine we find the Premonstratenses. They were so called from Premonstre in Picardy. St. Norbert, in 1080, at Cologne, and afterwards Bishop of Magdeburg, was the founder. From him the members were called Norbertins. The order was instituted about 1120, and confirmed in 1126 by Honorius II.‡ The members were called "White Friars" by the English. At first the rule was very severe, and obliged to several months of rigid fast throughout the year. The chief object of the founder had been to restore discipline, which had been relaxed, and the regular exercise of the divine offices, which were either discontinued or gone through with tepidity.

the three orders of Minors; two of them were foreign, but under the control of Irish. The four mendicant orders were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Eremites of St. Augustine.

* On what authority Harris gives only one house to the Trinitarians I cannot conjecture. Bergier (*Theolog. Dic. au mot Trinit.*) and Butler (*Lives of the Saints* for the 8th February) and others, give the number in the text.

† Helyot, *Hist. of Mon. and Relig. Ord.*, vol. ii., p. 145.

‡ Others date the institution of the Order in 1134.—*Vid. Butler's Lives, &c.*, for the 6th June. and Helyot, *Hist. Mon. Ord.*

Under the rule of St. Augustine, too, the Knights of Jerusalem professed to live. They were called Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, because their church was dedicated to St. John. Some merchants trading in the Levant from Amalphi, in Naples, obtained from the Caliph of the Saracens permission to establish an hospital for poor, sick pilgrims at Jerusalem. To the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience they added a fourth—to defend from insult and injury the pilgrims who visited the Holy Land. They were set on foot in the eleventh century, and were also called the Knights of Malta. They were a military order of knights, wore a cross with eight points, and obeyed certain rules of the Canons of St. Augustine.*

Of a kindred nature were the Knights Templars. Some gentlemen about 1118 took up their dwelling at Jerusalem, near the temple of Solomon. They pledged themselves to defend the pilgrims from the insults of the Saracens. The founders were Hugh and Geoffrey of St. Omer. In a council held in 1128, St. Bernard drew up a code of rules for the order. On account of enormous abuses laid to the charge of the order, it was suppressed in 1311. It was merged in that of the Hospitallers. Both, while performing deeds of heroic charity in the sick ward, enacted wonders in the tented field.

Grandimontenses were so called from Grandimont in Limoges, where St. Stephen's remains were finally interred. St. Stephen was born in 1044. His followers led a very penitential life. The mode of living was neither according to St. Augustine nor according to St. Benedict. They abstained from meat even in sick-

* *Hist. Mon. Ord.*, vol. ii. p. 133.

ness, and fasted throughout the year on one meal. The life of the Grandimontenses was chiefly of the contemplative kind.*

Trinitarians, or order for the redemption of captives, began in 1198. It was founded by John of Matha, who was born in 1169. The rule was that of the Canons of St. Augustine; the mode of life was very austere. However, in the thirteenth century there had been a relaxation. The members of the order were called Maturins; because the first church they got was dedicated to St. Maturus in France. The Trinitarians engaged to labour for the redemption of captives in Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco. They were clad in white; but, at the same time, wore a red and blue cross *patee* on their scapular. They never eat flesh meat unless on festivals. They always travelled on foot.

The Benedictines were called from St. Benedict, who was born in Umbria in 480. To long prayers and meditations was joined manual labour. Afterwards for the labour was substituted study. The rule enjoined abstinence from meat. Perhaps no order in the Church has been so illustrious by the number of saints, and by the services rendered to religion and humanity as the Benedictine Order. From the tenth century it branched off into the Orders of Camaldolese, of Valambrosa, of Fontevrault, of the Gilbertines, of the Silvestrines, of the Cistercians, and of others.† The Benedictines reclaimed the most ungrateful soil. They watched long; they slept on a mat; they lived on biscuit, herbs, and water. St. Bridget and her nuns may be ranked with the Benedictines; and are described as going along the streams to procure a repast which

* Butler, vol. ii., p. 125. Helyot, *Mon. Orders*.

† Helyot.

they never touched before evening.* Connected with or spring from the Benedictines were the Cistercians. They were indebted for their name to a valley of Cîteaux, a then uninhabited forest of Châlons.

The founder of this order was Robert, born in 1018. The object of the order had been the reformation of the Benedictine Orders. The members led a life severe in the extreme, abstained from flesh meat, and for the most part from white meats, and cultivated the most barren ground. The dress of the order was originally of a tawny colour; but afterwards, by the successor of Robert, was changed into white. The order put itself under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The noble order of Calatrava, Alcantara, Montreza, in Spain, and those of Christ and Avio in Portugal were subject to and borrowed rules from the Cistercian Order. A most austere reformation of the order took place, in 1614, at La Trappe. The reformer was Bouthillier de Rancé, who had been first an ecclesiastic, and looked up to as an oracle by the clergy of Paris. A branch of the reformed order is at Mount Melleray, Waterford, and another near Roscrea, in the diocese of Killaloe. The Cistercians, too, were called Bernardines; because St. Bernard, with his three brothers, in 1113, joined the institute.

The Dominicans had for their founder Dominic Gusman, a Spanish noble, born in 1170. They were called Friars Preachers, and were confirmed as an order by Innocent III. in 1215, and also by Honorius III. in the following year. At first the dress

* "Vespere flumineas, quærebant, fontibus herbas,
Antiqui soliti queis vitam ducere sancti,
Frigida cum crispis sumebant pocula et herbis."

Trias Thaum., p. 593. The dress was a white robe or cassock, and a black cloak or mantle with a black veil. *Alemant*, p. 371.

was that of Regular Canons, but afterwards it was a white robe and hood. Outside the convent a black* mantle and hood were adopted. The members were called Black Friars from the black hood. Their object was, by good example and preaching, to convert the sinner. There were also Dominican nuns.

The Minors or Franciscans were called after St. Francis. This order was founded in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was approved of by Innocent III. and confirmed again by Honourius III. in 1223. A special characteristic of the order was to possess no property individually or in common, and to live on alms.

Following the rule of the Franciscans were the nuns of St. Clare. The austerity practised by the nuns was such that, in 1223, Urban IV., in condescension to the delicacy of the sex, softened the rigour of the austerity, and allowed them to possess some property. Some, however (those of St. Damian), sought not nor accepted the relaxation. Hence the poor classes were split into Urbanists and Damianists. Branching from the parent stock were those of the strict observance, called "Discalced." Others of the regular observance were called Minors. The Capuchins professed to carry out to the letter the rule of St. Francis—they had a distinct general. Others were called conventuals; and so were distinguished from those who lived in solitude. Besides there was a third order called "Tertiaries." Married as well as unmarried were associated to it. As much as was compatible with their state they followed the rule laid down by St. Francis for the Minors and for

* Hist. Monast. Orders. Bergier (*Theolog. Dict.*) says the contrary. He says that the white hood was used outside the convent. *Vid. Theolog. Dict. au mot. Dom.*

themselves specially; and so gained the indulgence of a religious order.

The Carmelites were an order set on foot in honour of the Immaculate Virgin. They claimed descent from Elias of Mount Carmel. So much so that they denounced the learned Bollandist, who attributed their rule to St. Cyril.* Towards the middle of the thirteenth century Simon Stock is said to have had a vision of the Blessed Virgin, and to have been ordered by her to get a piece of stuff—one part in front and another over the shoulders. It was called the scapular. It is only by some mystical interpretation the Carmelites, beyond the mere name, can be connected with the prophet Elias. There were, too, the Crouched or Crossed Friars. Some endeavour to trace their origin to apostolic times. In 1169, Alexander III. took them under his protection. They carried a staff surmounted by a cross.

Then we had the Eremites of St. Augustine: they were founded by Eusebius, Bishop in Hungary, in 1215, and confirmed by a legate of Clement V. in 1308.

The Gilbertines, following the rule of St. Augustine, were called after Gilbert of Simpringham, in Lincolnshire. The first house was in a chapel dedicated under the invocation and containing the relics of St. Victor. The order was set on foot in 1148. It was intended for both sexes, as well married as unmarried. The men followed the rule of St. Augustine, the women that of St. Benedict. The houses of both, though under one roof, were separated by high walls. Then, too, were the Eremites of St. John the Baptist established in Navarre; they lived up to the time of Gregory XIII. under the direction

* Helyot, *Mon. Orders*, vol. i., p 282.

of the Bishop of Pampeluna. Their mode of life was very austere. They walked barefoot ; practised great austerities ; and had only the stone for pillow. A large wooden cross by day and by night was suspended on their breast. The austerities which they imposed on themselves were calculated to excite the horror of voluptuaries.

The bishops of the Irish Church cherished the religious with fostering solicitude. On that account when attacked, they had no more faithful or trusted guardians than the bishops. In the year 1317, the Dominicans in England and Ireland formed one province ;* and on account of the difficulty of communication the Irish Dominicans wished for a defender or conservator, as especially difficulties were thrown in their way in the exercise of their faculties as regarded preaching, hearing confessions, and other duties. They received gladly as conservators the Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Armagh.

Considering the important and useful part played by the religious in the Irish Church, it is no matter for marvel that they were defended by the secular clergy. Even abroad the fame of Ireland's religious was not unknown.

James O'Daclich is allowed to pass as a Franciscan to the Convent of St. Benedict, at Herbipolis,† and is relieved from the excommunication hurled against him by the brethren for having left them ; because there was an old and approved custom that an Irish-

* In the year 1366 the Friars Minors were a distinct province in Ireland from those in England, and hence the Minors applied through their provincial for leave to establish a branch of their order in the Isle of Man. Pope Boniface VIII. prohibited the religious orders from being established without leave of the Holy See.

† Theiner, *Vet. Mon.* He is called Cortran, but wrongly, I suspect, for Corcran. *Vid.* vol. i. p. 6, n. †. In 1370, Edward

man of any religious order should be received in it. He had left without licence.

So, too, in the year 1373, John, a monk of Wurtzburg, *outside the walls*, a Benedictine and bachelor in *decrees*, is appointed bishop for the diocese of Clogher.

The consent of Rome was required in the latter part of the middle ages not only for the establishment of a religious order, but even for re-entering a place once abandoned. Hence, the Carthusians found it necessary to obtain leave to come back, in the year 1371, to a place deserted by them only thirty years previously. So, too, in the year 1325, Pope John XXII. gave leave to the Minors to establish in Totmoy, "in a place given them by John de Bretingham, Count of Louche (Louthe); and that owing to the want of religion, the Word of God was seldom preached; but it was hoped that they would edify by word and example."

It may be observed that ecclesiastics in getting a church or cemetery were allowed thirty steps in every direction for building on.*

The succession to and resignation of not only bishoprics but priories depended on the sanction of Rome. In the year 1415, Pope Calixtus III. granted license to Dermot O'Meathair and Patrick Obnagi to exchange monasteries. O'Meagher was in Ossory, and Obnagi was near Roscrea, "in the Island of the Living," in the diocese of Killaloe. The indult of the Pope ran thus:—"We, wishing to yield to their prayers, commission you, the Chan-

III. granted to the guardians and Friars of Ennis license to enter into the English Pale, and owing to the poverty of the order, to purchase provisions. "He also granted license to Marianus Currydany, a brother of the house, to go to the city of Argentine, in Alemanne, and to study there."

* Theiner, ad. an. 1311.

cellor of Killaloe, by Apostolic authority, to act. Both lately, as they state, laboured under an impediment, *defectu natalium*. Dermod's father was an Augustinian Canon, and Patrick's father and mother were unmarried. Both had been dispensed so as to receive benefices even with care of souls. Patrick accordingly was promoted to holy orders, and got charge of the rectory of Domnachmor, in Ossory, which he resigned. The chancellor is commissioned to receive the resignation of the monasteries; that of Athumicarth, worth twelve, and from Patrick the resignation of '*insula Viventium*, worth thirty marks yearly; and put Patrick into Athumicarth, and Dermod to the Island of the Living,' having obtained from both previously the customary oath of fidelity." Both houses were of the Augustinian Order.

Though several monastic institutions had been suppressed from time to time in Ireland for want of funds, or from the annoyance of enemies, or because they merged into other orders, yet at the dissolution of monasteries in the time of Henry VIII., some 537 religious houses remained. Many of them were monuments of national pride. And though in some instances they might have been more useful, yet on the whole they were invaluable. In them parliaments were held; in them were preserved the wise laws and charters of a people's freedom; in them the interesting ceremony of knighthood was sometimes conferred. Here was the "Scriptorium" where the precious manuscripts of the past and the records of the passing age were written out. There was the hall for the entertainment of the pilgrim and the stranger. What an influence must not so many establishments have shed on society! Religious houses owned land to a considerable extent; but they contributed to the necessities of the State. The

lands were let on the easiest terms to the tenants. "That it was easier to live under the crosier than under the sceptre" was verified in Ireland. The habits of the religious on the whole were frugal, and their life laborious. If inveterate abuses were to be overcome, if feuds of long standing were to be healed, if a delicate commission from Rome were to be executed, if an effectual representation in reference to a disputed benefice or bishopric were to be made to the Holy Father, the services of the religious were put in requisition. By their education, by their perseverance, by their habits of industry they improved the soil and made the rose replace the heath and the swamps. No grinding rents to drive the children of the soil outcasts over the earth were exacted. And such as by age or infirmity were unable to help themselves, found relief and comfort at the convent gate. *There* the portionless maid got a dower; there the orphan was caressed; there salt tears were kissed from aged woe. The monastic halls were seminaries for the education of youth, hospitals for the cure of the sick,* and treasuries for the relief of the old and indigent. There is scarcely any of the professions now found so necessary to society which was not exercised to some extent by the religious. Having consulted for every evil to which flesh is heir, and added vastly to the sum of human happiness, they prepared men for that happiness which never ends.

* Even in the fifteenth century, Nicholas, Archbishop of Armagh, granted an indulgence of fifty days to those who would relieve those afflicted with the woeful disease of leprosy in the house of St. Bridget, at Kilbyxey, in Meath.—*Registry of Fleming.*

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

(See vol. i., p. 25.)

BULL OF ADRIAN IV. TO HENRY II.

*Laudabiliter et satis fructuose de glorioso nomine propagando in terris et aeternae felicitatis praemio cumulando in coelis, tua Magnificencia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos ecclesiae terminos, ad declarandam inductis et rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut Catholicus Princeps intendis, et ad id convenientius exequendum Consilium Apostolicae Sedis exigit et favorem.

In quo facto quanto altiori consilio et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciter progressum te (praestante Domino) confidimus habiturum; eo quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem soleant attingere, quae de ardore fidei et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiae *Christus* illuxit, et quae

* It is taken from Giraldus Cambrensis and Ussher's *Sylloge*.

documenta fidei Christianae ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacro Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae (quod tua etiam Nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere. Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem et germen gratum Deo inferimus, quanto id a nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum. Significasti siquidem nobis (fili in Christo carissime) te Hiberniae insulam ad Subdendam illum populum legibus et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare: et de singulis domibus annum unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem; et Jura Ecclesiarum illius terrae illibata et integra conservare.

Nos itaque prium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuae benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum habemus, ut (pro dilatandis Ecclesiae terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu pro corrigendis moribus et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianae

religionis augmento) insulam ingrediaris, et quae ad honorem Dei et salutem illius terrae spectaverint exequaris; et illius terrae populus honorifice te recipiat et sicut Dominum veneretur: jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro et sacro-sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo effectu duxeris prosequente complendum, stude gentem illam bonis

moribus informare, et agas (tam per te quam per illos quos ad hoc fide, verbo, et vita idoneos esse perspexeris) ut decoretur ibi Ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei Christianae religio, et quae ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinent animarum per te taliter ordinantem, ut a Deo sempiternae mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in saeculis obtinere.

Datum, etc.

APPENDIX A.

(See vol. i., p. 25.)

POPE ALEXANDER III.'S CONFIRMATORY LETTER OF GRANT TO HENRY II.

Alexander Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei charissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum Regi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

“Quoniam ea quae a decessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta noscuntur, perpetua merentur stabilitate firmari; Venerabilis Adriani Papae vestigiis inhaerentes, nostrique desiderii fructum attendentes concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (Salva Beato Petro et sacro-

sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, sicut in Anglia, sic etiam in Hibernia, de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus et confirmamus quatenus eliminatis terrae ipsius spurcitiis, barbara natio quae Christiana censetur nomine, vestra indulgentia morum induat venustatem, et redacta in formam hactenus informi finium illorum Ecclesia, gens ea per vos Christianae professionis nomen cum effectu de caetero consequatur.”

APPENDIX B.

(See vol. i., p. 49.)

FROM THE “LEABHAR MOR DUNA DOIGHRE.”

h-annoc agur h-chellchun in chille mori, h-rluarci o chul orluarci, h-glepan.

Ирларун рогабрат еих агур мул агур арран ин чарданал танис ороим еотири неп

Dia foncebul inaimpín dom-
 nail moir h-briain níz mun-
 ain. Comó deirín nopectur
 comorba petáir Dlígead aóur
 cír epínn fíri raxanaib. Comó
 he rín cept aóur dlígead len
 aic raxain fíor fíobelu mbíu
 Arba co comorba Petáir cu
 noim cegeó cír aóur Dlígead
 epínn corín níl, &c.

APPENDIX C.

(See vol. i., p. 55.)

“Primo statutum est, quod
 universi fideles per Hiberniam
 constituti, repudiato cognato-
 rum et affinium contubernio
 legitima contrahant matrimonia
 et observent.

“II. Quod infantes ante fores
 ecclesie catechizentur, et in
 sacro fonte in ipsis baptismali-
 bus ecclesiis baptizentur.

“III. Quod universi fideles
 Christi decimas animalium fru-
 gum, caeterarumque proventio-
 num ecclesie cujus fuerint
 parochiani persolvant.

“IV. Quod omnes terrae ec-
 clesiasticae, et earum posses-
 siones ab omnium secularium
 hominum exactione penitus sint
 immunes. Et specialiter quod
 nec reguli nec comites necutique
 potentes viri Hiberniae nec
 eorum filii cum familiis suis
 cibaria et hospitalitates in
 territoriis ecclesiasticis, secun-
 dum consuetudinem exigunt,
 nec amodo violenter extorquere
 praesumant; et quod de villis
 ecclesiarum cibus ille detesta-
 bilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis
 comitibus exigitur, de caetero
 nullatenus exigatur.

“V. Quod pro homicidio a
 laicis perpetrato, quoties inde

cum suis inimicis componunt,
 cleri videlicet eorum cognati
 nihil inde persolvent, sed sicut
 in homicidii perpetratione, sic
 in pecuniae solutione sint im-
 munes.

“VI. Quod universi fideles
 in infirmitate positi, confessore
 suo et vicinis astantibus cum
 debita solemnitate testamentum
 condant, bona sua mobilia, dum-
 modo uxores et liberos habeant,
 aere alieno et servientium mer-
 cede exceptis, in tres partes
 dividant: unam liberis, alterum
 uxori legitimae, tertiam propriis
 exequis relinquenter. Et si
 forte prolem legitimam non ha-
 buerint, bona ipsa inter ipsum
 et uxorem in duo media divi-
 dantur. Et si legitima uxor
 decesserit, inter ipsum et liberos
 bipartiri debent.

“VII. Et cum bona confes-
 sione decedentibus et missarum
 et vigiliarum exhibitione, et
 more sepeliendi obsequium de-
 bitum persolvatur. Item quod
 omnia divina ad instar sacro-
 sanctae ecclesiae juxta quod
 Anglicana observat ecclesia in
 omnibus partibus ecclesiae amo-
 do tractentur.”—(Taken from
Gerald Barry.)

APPENDIX D.

(See vol. i., p. 55.)

“ In nomine Dei. Amen.

“ Ego () licet aeger corpore tamen sanus anima testamentum in hunc modum condo. Imprimo lego animam meam omnipotenti Deo beatae Mariae Virgini et omnibus sanctis, corpus que meum sepeliri in ecclesia sancti () et lego pro sepultura mea in Ecclesia praedictae (s. d.) et lego fabricae praedictae (s. d.) et ordino et confirmo executores meos (N.N.) ut ipsi disponerent omnia et singula bona mea pro salute animae meae prout sibi melius videbitur expediri.”

Form of Confirmation.

Probatum erat hoc testamentum coram nobis Gullielmo praeposito sanctae Trinitatis et Decano ecclesiae Sti. Patritii Dubliniensis, custodibus spiritualium, etc., et per nos approbatur et confirmatur vigesimo nono die mensis Januarii anno Do-

mini secundum computationem Anglicanam et Hibernicam, millesimo quadragentissimo septuagesimo anno. Et commissa est administratio executoribus supradictis in forma. In cujus testimonium sigillum officiale praesentatis fecimus apponi.*

Datum, etc.

* Extracts from *Black and White Book of Dublin*, T.C.D. MS., p. 10. The *Black and White Book of Dublin*, which were in T.C.D., have been claimed and kept lately by the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, as part of the muniments of his church.

“Not only as regarded a certain church, but even a certain spot in it, was the will of the testator respected. Hence we find a bequest made to a place *before* the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary.”—MS. E. 3, 32, T.C.D.

APPENDIX E.

(See vol. i., p. 60.)

ON TITHES.

“Dicc mihi qui primus accepit decimam, nin. Abraham do chpud loich ppppuy .l. dia chpud fen. Cib Comab dech-

mad pech cethpumab .l. cuiceb .l. vi. ed. .l. ix. ed. non ap ip decti dia agur duine .l. tpe- batru natpinoite agur ceth-

արձատս արքայ .i. արքայ արքայ
 տալան, շեն, արքայ սրջե, արքայ
 արքայ քրիստոս աննա .i. արքայիկ
 արքայ արքայիկ արքայ արքայիկ
 արքայիկ .i. v. շարժե
 արքայ, արքայ v. արքայ աննա :
 visus, auditus, odoratus, agus
 gustus la corp քրիստոս. Cuius
 քրիստոս աննա .i. timor, amor,
 odium, gaudium, tristitia. No
 արքայիկ արքայիկ քրիստոս քրիստոս
 արքայիկ արքայիկ քրիստոս .i. արքայիկ
 քրիստոս.

“Abraham cubaib ciamaib

dehmad no gabad uair nobi
 քրիստոս leui dehmad me քրիստոս
 քրիստոս cubaib ciamaib deh-
 mad no gabad Abraham. Cui
 comad do Melchisedech no-
 berad. Nach daron tucc ni,
 quia obtulit panem et vinum et
 aquam in figuram Christi.
 Daron autem buicc արքայ
 արքայ արքայ արքայ արքայ
 արքայիկ. Comad aipe քրիստոս nach
 daron tucc, etc.” — *Leabhar
 Breac*, p. 101.

APPENDIX F.

(See vol. i., p. 68.)

ALEXANDER III. TO KING HENRY II.*

“Alexander, bishop, servant of
 the servants of God, to our well-
 beloved son in Christ, Henry,
 the illustrious King of the Eng-
 lish, greeting and Apostolical
 benediction.

“It is not without very lively
 satisfaction we have learned from
 the voice of public report, as
 well as from the authentic
 statements of particular indivi-
 duals, of the expedition you
 have made, in the true spirit of
 a pious king and magnificent
 prince, against that nation of
 the Irish, who, in utter disre-
 gard to the fear of God, are
 wandering with unbridled licen-
 tiousness into every course of
 crime, and who have cast away
 the restraints of the Christian

religion and morality, and are
 destroying one another by mu-
 tual slaughter, and of the mag-
 nificent and wonderful triumph
 you have gained over a kingdom
 into which, we are led to be-
 lieve, the Roman princes, tri-
 umphant conquerors of the
 world, never pushed their arms
 in the days of their glory: a
 success attributable to the or-
 dering of the Lord, by whose
 guidance, as we undoubtedly
 believe, your serene highness
 was led to direct the power of
 your arms against that uncivil-
 ized and lawless people.

“For without referring at pre-
 sent to the other enormities and
 crimes in which this people, in
 their disregard for the restraints
 of the Christian religion, indulge
 themselves most profanely, it
 appears from the statements of

* It was dated 12 kalends of
 October.

our venerable brethren, Christian Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Apostolic See, and of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, in their letter to us, and also of our beloved son R., Archdeacon of Llandaff, a person of discretion and prudence, and one attached to your Majesty's royal person by more than ordinary bonds of devotedness, who was himself a trustworthy witness of the facts, and reported them orally to us in a manner that showed his prudence and the interest he took in them, that the aforesaid people, as your serene Majesty may possibly have learned more fully from other sources, are in the habit of* eating flesh meat in Lent, and pay no tithes, and show none of the respect which they ought to entertain for God's holy churches or ecclesiastical persons.

"But now that in the mercy of God, his inspiration has roused your mind, as we learn from the communications of these archbishops and bishops, and the more full account brought us by the aforesaid archdeacon, to effect the subjugation of that people to your sovereignty by a junction of your mighty forces by land and sea, and to root out from it such abominable filthi-

* "Novercas suas publice introducunt, et ex eis non erubescant filios procreare: frater uxore fratris eo vivente abjicitur, unus duabus se sororibus concubinis miscet et plerique illorum matre relicta filias introducunt." — Hearn's *Liber Scaccarii*, vol. i., p. 45.

ness as referred to; for this we entertain due feelings of joy and gratitude, and take occasion therefrom to render our devout thanksgivings unto Him from whom every good proceeds, and who orders the pious acts and wills of his faithful people according to his own good pleasure for the furtherance of their salvation, beseeching the Almighty Lord in our prayers to grant that as by the influence of your Majesty these practices, so contrary to all law, which prevailed in the aforesaid land, are already beginning to decline, so also by the Lord's assistance the people may be led, through your means, to forsake their immoral and sinful courses, and adopt in its entirety the discipline of the Christian religion, to the gaining for you an unfading crown of everlasting glory, and to the promoting of the salvation of their souls.

"We therefore desire of your Royal Excellency, we advise and exhort you in the Lord, and enjoin on you for the remission of your sins, that you strengthen and make up your mind to a greater degree of energy in that undertaking which you have so laudably begun, and that you make use of your power to reduce that people to the observance of the Christian religion, and keep them in it. That as you have spent your labour against them already with a view of obtaining, as we believe, the remission of your sins, or for promoting their advancement in the way of salvation, you may be counted worthy to receive an everlasting crown.

“And as your Highness’s Excellency is aware that the Church of Rome has by right an authority different from what she possesses over the mainland and continent, having therefore such a confident hope in the fervour of your devotion as to believe that it would be your desire not only to preserve, but even to extend the privileges of said Church, and establish her jurisdiction, as you are in duty bound, where she has

none at present, we ask and earnestly exhort your Highness to use your anxious diligence to preserve to us the privileges belonging to St. Peter in the aforesaid land ; that so we may be in duty bound to render full thanks to your Royal Eminence, and you may appear as presenting an offering to God, the first-fruits of your glory and your triumph.

“Dated, Tusculum, 20th Sept.”

APPENDIX F. II.

(See vol. i., p. 68.)

Translated from the L. Scaccarii.

POPE ALEXANDER III. TO RODERICK O’CONNOR.

“To the illustrious King of the Irish, on the subject of a council to be held in his country.”

“In the letter of your Highness, received with due feelings of benevolence, we observe with very much gratitude and satisfaction that you, as a Catholic prince and most Christian king, steadily maintain towards blessed Peter and ourselves, and we have to commend in the Lord, with due encomiums the existence of such a spirit on the part of your Eminence, rendering our fullest acknowledgments to your Serene Highness for the care which you have taken to receive to your benevolence our beloved son, Subdeacon O., sent some time since to your parts

for the purpose of holding a council there, and for your readiness in treating him with all the honour due to your character and his: on which grounds of high esteem for your faith and sincerity we are confirmed in our will and purpose, always to receive your requests with favourable attention, and to seek after the honour and glory of your Highness in all cases possible, with God’s assistance.

For the present, however, we desire to intimate to your Excellency that we have given a favourable reception to our well beloved son, the Abbot of Melifont, whom your Serene Highness has recommended to us, and we have been careful to

give him a satisfactory audience as regards his just petition. We, therefore, entreat of your Magnificence and exhort you in the Lord to persevere steadfast and immovable in Catholic unity and devotion to your mother, the holy Roman Church, and to us, that you may in this way both secure the prize of everlasting recompense, and establish a claim to favours continually increasing from the Apostolic See and ourselves.

“Dated, 12 kalends of Oct.”*

* After the Synod of Cashel, the synod above referred to was held.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* inform us “that in 1172 a General Synod of Ireland, both of the clergy and laity, was held at Tuam, in Connaught, at which Roderic O’Connor and Cadhla O’Duffy, Archbishop of Tuam presided. Three churches were consecrated.”

APPENDIX F. III.

(See vol. i., p. 68.)

ALEXANDER III. TO THE NOBLES OF IRELAND.

“Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved children, the noblemen, kings, and princes of Ireland, greeting, and Apostolical benediction.

“When it became known to us from public report, as well as from unquestionable testimony of particular individuals, that you had received from your king and lord our most dearly-beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of the English, and that you had sworn fealty to him, our feelings of heartfelt joy on the occasion were proportionate to the increase of tranquillity and peace likely to result in your country from the power of the king, by the assistance of the Lord, and the prospect that the Irish

people, who for this time past seemed to have gone far away from God by the enormity and lewdness of their lives, will now receive instructions likely to render them more interested in divine worship, and be better grounded in the discipline of the Christian religion.

But, however, as to your having voluntarily subjected yourselves to a monarch so magnificent and powerful, and one who is such a devout son of the Church, your prudence herein we must mark with its due commendation, inasmuch as it may be hoped that a considerable advantage will accrue to yourselves, to the Church, and to the people of your country in general. We, therefore, earnestly admonish and command

your noble body to be careful how you maintain, firm and inviolate, in all due subjection, the fealty which you have promised with the solemn sanction of your oath to this mighty prince; and show your obedience and attachment to him in such a spirit of gentleness and humility that you may be continually gaining increasing favour at his hands, and that we may feel ourselves in duty bound to express our commendation of your prudence as is fit."—(Translated from the *Liber Scaccarii*, fol. 9, b.)

APPENDIX F. IV.

(See vol. i., p. 68.)

ALEXANDER III. TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

"Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God: to our venerable brethren, Christian Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Apostolic See, and Gelasius of Armagh, Donogh of Cashel, Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam, archbishops, and their suffragans, greeting, and Apostolic benediction.

"The sad extent of disorder and guilt which stain the character of the Irish people, and the manner in which they put aside all fear of God and restraints of the Christian religion to follow courses full of peril to the souls of men, had been made very clear to us from the contents of your letter; although, indeed, a very full account of the matter had been brought before the notice of the Apostolic See in the authentic reports of other parties too. Therefore it is that when we understood from your letter how these practices, so contrary

to all law, which have prevailed in your country, are now beginning, with the Lord's assistance, to disappear under the influence of our dearly-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious Henry, King of the English, who, influenced by the voice of divine inspiration, was led to effect by a concentration of his forces the subjugation to his own sovereignty of that savage and uncivilised people, who know nothing of God's law, we rejoiced very much, and gave boundless thanksgivings to Him who bestowed on the prince aforesaid so grand a victory, making request in our humble prayers that through the vigilant and anxious personal efforts of the monarch, aided by your hearty co-operation, that lawless and disorderly people may be brought to entertain a respect for divine law and for the principles of the Christian religion in all its parts and bearings

on their lives, and that you and other ecclesiastics may enjoy that honour and peacefulness of life to which you are properly entitled.

"Seeing, therefore, that it behoves you to use your diligence and friendly efforts in promoting an undertaking commenced on such good principles, we command you, brethren, by this, our Apostolic mandate, that you do the utmost of your power and diligence, so far as is consistent with the privileges of your order and with your office give your assistance to the prince aforesaid, being so magnificent a person and devout son of the Church, in maintaining and keeping possession of that land, and in extirpating from it such filthy abominations as are above referred to.

"And, if any of the kings, princes, or other persons of that country shall attempt by rash adventure to contravene the obligation of the oath and fealty, given to the king aforesaid, if on your admonition he

shall not, with due readiness, return to a better state of mind, let him feel the force of ecclesiastical censure, inflicted with the weight of our Apostolical authority, no regard whatsoever being had to the occasion or excuse which may be assigned; that so you may carry into execution this our mandate in a diligent and effective manner, and that as the said king is stated to have exhibited a spirit of pious and benevolent obedience to our wishes, in making you restitution of tithes, as well as of your other ecclesiastical dues, and in attending to all matters pertaining to the liberty of the Church, so you may on your own side steadily maintain for him the privileges of the royal dignity, and exert yourselves as far as possible to have the like done by others.

"Dated Tusculum, Sept. 20."

Translated from the *Liber Scaccarii*, edited by Hearne, vol. i., p. 42, and given in *New Rymer's fœdera*.

APPENDIX G.

(See vol. i., p. 108.)

FROM MARTENE.

Subjoined in parallel columns are the versions of Pope Leo's homily, as given in the *Leabhar Breac*, and correspondingly in *Martene* (*Martene, Veter. Mon.*, tom. 7, p. 1). While giving us his version of it, he treats us

also to the various readings taken from the *Bibliotheca* of St. Victor and those given by Labbé (tom. xi, p. 1075).

Martene, in his notes, refers to the readings from the *Bibliotheca Lucensi*. This is a manu-

script written in the twelfth century, on which version the one in the *Leabhar Breac* appears to have been modelled, and on that account, as for other reasons, I am inclined to place the latter between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Mansi (*Sacr. Concil. nova et amplis. collectio*, tom. xiv, pp. 889-890) gives three versions in full, respectively, from Labbé, Martene, and a third from the *Bibliotheca Lucensi*.

Those who may not have access to these can see a version of it in the *Pontificale Romanum*, vol. iii., *Ordo ad Synodum*, p. 97.

Martenii Editio.

Commemitorium cujusque Episcopi ad Sacerdotes sibi subditos.

Fratres, sacerdotes Domini, co-operatores nostri ordinis estis, et nos quidem quamvis indigne locum Aaron tenemus, vos locum Eleazarii, et Ithmari. Nos vice duodecim Apostolorum fungimur; vos septuaginta duorum discipulorum. Nos pastores vestri sumus, vos plebis vobis commissae. Nos de vobis rationem reddituri summus summo pastori domino nostro Jesu Christo; vos de plebe vobis commissa. Ideoque carissimi, vestrum videte periculum. Admonemus itaque et obsecramus fraternitatem vestram ut quo vobis suggerimus memoriae commendetis, et opere exercere studeatis.

I. In primis admonemus ut vita et conversatio vestra irreprehensibilis sit, scilicet ut cella vestra sit juxta Ecclesiam, et in domo vestra feminas non habeatis

II. Omni nocti ad vigiliis* surgite; cursum vestrum horis certis decantate.

III. Missarum† solemnitates celebrationes que religiose peragite; corpus et sanguinem Domini cum timore et reverentia sumite vasa sacra propriis manibus abluite et extergite.

IV. Nullus cantet, nisi Jejunus; nullus cantet qui non communicet.

V. Nullus cantet sine amictu, alba, stola, fanone, casula.‡ Et haec vestimenta nitida sint et ad nullos alios usus sint.

VI. Nullus cum alba, qui in suos usus utitur presumat Missam celebrare.§ Nullus in ligneo aut vitreo calice audeat Missam celebrare.

VII. Nulla femina ad altare accedat, nec calicem Domini tangat.

VIII. Corporale mundissimum sit. Altare sit co-opertum de mundis linteis. Super altare nihil ponatur nisi capsea et reliquiae, et quatuor¶ Evangelia, et pixis cum** corpore Domini ad viaticum infirmis.†† Cetera in nitido loco recondantur.

* Aug. ad Nocturna.

† Aug. *Missarum Celebrationes.*

‡ Aug. *Planeta.*

§ Victor et Aug. *Cantare*, reliqua in Augustano desunt, sed statim subjungit, *Nulla femina*, etc.

¶ Victor *Cantare.*

** Aug. et Victor aut forte *quatuor.*

†† Aug. *Buxida.*

†† Aug. *cum corpore Domini ad infirmos.*

IX. Missale, plenarium* lectionarium, Antiphonarium† utrum que librum XL. Homiliarum unusquisque habeat.

X. Locus in secretario vel juxta altare sit praeparatus ubi aqua effundatur, quando sacra vasa abluuntur, ibique vas nitidum cum aqua pendeat, ubi sacerdos manus lavet post communionem.

XI. Ecclesiae sint bene coeptae et cameratae; atrium Ecclesiae undique‡ muniuntur.

XII. Nullus extra Ecclesiam per domos vel in locis non consecratis Missam cantet,§ nec solus cantet.

XIII. Quisque presbyter clericum|| habeat, qui Epistolam vel lectionem legat, eique ad Missam respondeat, et cum quo psalmos cantet.¶

* Aug. et Victor ut in Lucensi.

† Aug. ut in Lucensi.

‡ Deest in Aug. et Victor, sit saepe Munitum.

§ Nec solus cantet deest in Aug. et Victor.

|| Aug. vel scholarem.

¶ Aug. addito *Nullus solus Missam cantet. Dein subdit: Nullus cum calcariis quos sperones rustice vocamus, et cultellis extrinsecus dependentibus Missam cantet, quia indecens est et ut contra regulam ecclesiasticam est Calicem, etc., ut in homilia Leonis Labbeana.*

XIV. Infirmos visitate eos que Deo reconciliate* oleo sancto ungit, et propria manu communicate. Nullus presumat tradere communionem laico vel foeminae ad ferendum infirmo.

XV.† Nullus sacrum chrisma vendat, nullus pro baptizandis, vel pro corpore Domini, vel pro reconciliatione, vel pro sepultura, vel pro consecrandis Ecclesiis praemium quaerat, vel Ecclesiis aliorum data pecunia surripiat.

XVI. Videte ne per negligentiam vestram nullus infans sine baptismo moriatur.

XVII. Nullus vestrum sit ebriosus, litigiosus;‡ nullus arma in seditione ferat, nullus§ canum vel avium jocus inserviat. Nullus in tabernis bibat.

XVIII. Unusquisque vestrum quantum sapit, plebi suae de Evangelio,|| de Epistola, vel aliqua divina Scriptura Dominico die vel festis diebus annuntiet.

* Aug. et Juxta Apostolum oleo.

† Aug. et Victor cum Lucensi.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Aug. et Victor cum La-beo.

APPENDIX G.

(See vol. i., p. 108.)

FROM THE "LEABHAR BREAC," P. 247, COL. 2.

"Est enuntiandus sermo synodalis in singulis sinodis parrotianis prespeteris.

"Fratres Presbyteri et Sacerdotes Domini. Cohoperatores nostri Ordinis estis. Vos locum Helestarii (Eleazarii) et Hithimartis. Nos vice xii. Apostolorum fungimur vos ad formam lxx. discipulorum estis. Nos pastores vestri sumus. Vos pastores animarum vobis commissarum. Nos de vobis rationem reddituri summus summo pastori nostro Domino Jhesu Christo. Vos de plebibus vobis commendatis. Et ideo carissimi videte periculum vestrum. Admonemus itaque et obsecramus fraternitatem vestram ut que vobis suggerimus memorie commendetis, et opere studeatis.

"In primis admonemus ut vita et conversatio vestra irreprehensibilis sit. Scilicet ut cella vestra sit juxta ecclesiam, et in domo vestra feminas ne habeatis. Omni nocte ad nocturnas surgite. Cursum vestrum horis certis decantate. Missarum celebrationes religiose peragite. Corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri cum timore et reverentia sumite. Vasa sacra propriis manibus abluite et extergite.

"Nullus cantet Missam nisi Jejunus. Nullus cantet qui non communicet. Nullus cantet sine amictu, stola, alba, famorea, et

casula. Et haec vestimenta nitida sint. Et ad nullus alios usus sint. Nullus in albis quae in suos usus utitur presumat Missam cantare. Nullus in ligneo vel in vitreo calice audeat missam cantare. Nulla femina ad altare Domini accedat, nec calicem Domini tangat. Corporale mundissimum sit. Altare sit cohoptum de mundis lintheis, supra altare nihil ponatur nisi capsea et reliquiae, aut forte quatuor Evangelii, aut pixis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum infirmis. Cetera in nitido loco recondantur. Missale, Plenarium, Lectionarium, et Antiphonarium unusquisque habeat. Locus in secretario vel juxta altare sit preparatum, ut aqua effundi possit, quando vasa sacra abluuntur, et ubi vas nitidum cum aqua dependeat. Et ibi sacerdos manus lavet post communionem. Ecclesia cohopta et camerata et atrium sit sepe munitum. Nullus extra ecclesiam per domus in locis in consecratis missam cantet. Nullus solus missam cantet. Omnis presbiter clericum habeat, vel scolarem qui Epistolam vel lectionem legat, et ad missam respondeat cum quo psalmos cantet. Infirmos visitare et eos reconciliamini ac juxta Apostolum oleo sacro ungit et a propria manu communicate. Et nullus presumat tradere com-

munionem laico aut feminae ad deferendum infirmo. Nullus vestrum pro baptistandis infantibus aut infirmis reconciliandis aut mortuissepeliendis premium vel munus exigit Videte ne per negligentiam vestrum nullus infans sine baptismo moriatur. Nullus vestrum sit ebriosus vel litigiosus, servum Domini non oportet litigare. Nullus arma ferat in seditionem. Quia arma vestra spiritualia debent esse. Nullus canum aut avium jocis inserviat. Nolite in tabernis bibere. Unusquisque vestrum quantam sapit plebi

suae de evangelio vel apostolica die dominico vel festis diebus annuntiet. Quicumque ad conficiendum sacrosanctum altaris ministerium ordinatus est, licet ab omnibus peccatis se quavere debeat, praecipue instudendum est illi ut castitatem custodiat et quicquid se ad immunditiam allicere potuit a se sollicitus repellat, hiram namque Dei super se provocet qui immunda conscientia ac polluto corpore ad illum accedere presumit. O quam tremendum est pollutis manibus tractare Dominicum."

APPENDIX H.

(See vol. i., p. 112.)

ON THE EUCHARIST.

"Nec tamen intelligendum est quod in exceptione sanguinis solam animam accipiamus, sed in exceptione sanguinis totum verum Christum Deum et hominem, et acceptione similiter corporis totum et quamvis se-

paratim corpus et separatim sanguinem non tamen sit semel Christum accipimus, sed ista mos sic separatim accipiendi inde in Ecclesia inolevit."—Extracts from *Black and White Book*, p. 21, T.C.D., E. fol.

APPENDIX I.

(See vol. i., p. 113.)

AN EIGHTH CENTURY LITANY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

From the "Leabhar Breac," p. 74.

Amuirne moir.
Amuirne armo dona muirib.
Apo moir na mban.
Ariogan nanainzel.
Abantigeanna indonime.

Aben lan agur forlan orath-
mpeiricandib.
Abendachta agur apoben-
dachta.
Amachair na glori ruchtaine.

Amaithair na hecclairi ne-
 mba aḡur talmain.
 Amaithair na baide aḡur in-
 dlogaid.
 Amaithair na rollri foḡorḡai.
 Anoir inbetheoir.
 Aómartha na pethinche.
 Aḡorur nime.
 Aóomra órḡai.
 Alepa na báide aḡur na ep-
 cairé.
 Atempail na diachta.
 Amairé na nóḡ.
 Abantigeapna na cniub.
 Aóorair na lubḡort.
 Aḡlanad na peccad.
 Anige na namnad.
 Amaithair na ḡvilluuchta.
 Achich na noiben.
 Aóombignad na epuaḡ.
 Anebla in mara.
 Achumal dé.
 Amaithair Cpiorc.
 Airnazair in ó. mḡed.
 Aepucach maróolum.
 Aóochraid marperca.
 Achairgaide marḡrim.
 Aóicóir aithirre eua.
 Aachnuiged na bechad.
 Amairre na mbanrcal.
 Achend na nóḡ.
 Alubḡort fóriata.
 Aóir thopairi ḡlarrairche.
 Amathair Dé.
 Aóḡ řucham.
 Aóḡ noem.
 Aóḡ epembap.
 Aóḡ rochraid.
 Aóḡ ḡenamum.
 Aótempail Dé bí.
 Airiḡ řuide inriḡ řucham.
 Airancara in řriḡida noib.
 Aóḡ ḡoreim iere.
 Achethaid řlebi laban.
 Achupripc řlebi řóm.
 Airóir corcarḡa i řeran iac-
 oir.

Ablatnairḡtech mar řailm.*
 Aóoirḡtech mar ola chrand.†
 Amie bpeḡairi ḡlorḡai.
 Aóollri nazaroch.
 Aḡloir ierřim.
 Amairi indomain.
 Aóóimeal inřopail epior-
 baige.
 Airigan inbetha.
 Airad nime.

Eirc řuide nambocht na
 dimicniḡ cenḡa aḡur órnabai
 natruaḡ, berthaid arnduch-
 nachḡ aḡur ar noḡraba epem-
 tura iriabnaire indulemean
 airniḡ řiu řinn řen arner-
 techḡ epḡ narndroóair idill.
 Abantigeapna óumachtach
 nime aḡur talmain óileḡ
 arcinta arpeccá. Scpír ar-
 cailu aḡur aneopbaid tocab
 natuicemba mandetblen
 aḡur nacengalta tairhniḡ
 nabairta. Ierřairi epemuctra

* O'Curry has blunderingly
 thrown this and the next peti-
 tion into one in the Litany pre-
 sented to Pope Pius IX. for in-
 dulgence.—*Ibid.* vol. i., p. 113.

† "Fruitful as the olive-tree.
 This, like every other prayer
 used by the ancient Irish
 Church, only echoes the pa-
 tristic teaching of the primitive
 Universal Church. Thus, St.
 Ambrose, speaking of the olive,
 says: "Ego autem sicut oliva
 fructifera in domo Domini. Quis
 est enim alius tales fructus,
 ferret olearum non curvescen-
 tium ubertate baccarum, sed
 spiritus plenitudine gentium
 foecundarum."—*Homilia, lib. 9,*
in Lucam.

тѣрра апнодѣр агур апн
дуалче.

Тиднаице дуинн тремутра
блаха агур сумдаице на
рѣгнум агур на рвалач.
Ретнаиц дуинн мбретхе-
манн ое жуйдѣ агур отимри-
дѣ: nachar leic uait ar-
nѣne icreicн рiарнамтѣв.
Nalѣic арнамнанн до дѣрпад.
Ecnarгѣв ѣcut пен cui
dche ар доѣомайрце.

Аилмит агур жусомитне беор
тура аноем муйре тpиатмо-

rimpиде ар ѣoen mac .i. ар
ipу epiorѣ mac дѣ бу. Co-
mandicне dia онаuilib euain-
гѣв агур аймригѣв. Ec cufнig
дуинн abia nandul co рѣгбамне
ули uad dilgead co рѣгбамне
dap nulib peccaib, агур co-
рѣгбам uadpum беор тpиат-
тмридерин рiрaйтpeв на рла-
чхайр nemda тpиабичу nam-
bechad, ipiаднайре noem агур
oemѣг indomain, roparill-
em ropaitтpeвam, in secula
seculorum. Amen.

APPENDIX J.

(See Vol. i., p. 123.)

FROM THE "LEABHAR BREAC," P. 256, COL. 1.

Cach duine рiр naduth-
nachт рѣв агур cendrа in-
choimmedeb дѣрғбail агур
planuzub aama ipѣв dlegар
do артѣр epetem агур aich-
entур inchoimmed аice coleip.
Ar ni tapba donach maie do
гena cenncpetemрin аice.
In tapdopig ули chumachtach
тpа nobui рiam penabuilib
centopach агур dopighe na-
huli dul cenadbar агур pol-
lamnaiгур iac, агур dianad-
lan nem агур calum.

Col. 2.

Rotarрbaid din he пен dia-
ѣuibpюuch агур диарпойглед
diaѣpochaid агур diaѣpад
диаррuarлucaidне агин dia-
bul агур диараepад ар пен
ipрinn. . . . Denaid afne агур
abpтанait iarчep.

Аиѣриги iarчopри ѣollaide
райрѣиу агур айтpиги iarmaд-
миги.

Page 257, Col. 1.

hiepu cѣ mac риг нime агур
calum. Inтep* peappu na-
тpинѣтi ip comepa агур ip
cutpuma рри рimathair агур
рpирин рpирон n. inрpидia агур
in рiр duine. . . . Uair amail
balogmar thall epetemb-
achta epiorѣ andeилb depoil
adoennachta, ipamail ip loг-
mar indiu acpetem andeилb
байргѣne. . . .

* It is strange the same mis-
take of putting the Third for
the Second Person is made by
Leabhar na huidihre.—See vol.
i., p. 123.

Ar ni he inpacairt iarrfir do gni inebparctin iur conio he atcithaid iconciméipecht, acht íru ep fen do gni comféd agur bendachaid inabairgíne agur inína aipairneb achuirp agur afola fen intan chanur inpacart nabriathra no éan ep intan dorígne apctur inebparctin, ar íre epíort pacart agur ípedpart and. Aríriat tpeba bírocanebparctin cuirp epírt agur afola .i. inpacart cohaicpíde iconciméipecht íriadnere chafch co-coiceend. Ocur aingil agur archaingil nime ícaporíell agur inafíadnaib aige fírlaim epíort oour epírt fen occomíod agur ícbendachaid agur íccoírecíad nabairgíne

agur inína condenanorupm achíorp agur afuil fen dib-rin.

L. Breac, Page 257, Col. 2.

Inti tpa porbennach na v. bairgna cumarárta v. mfe dib, agur cumalinta xii. eliab dia fuiglib agur intí dorígní cognáthach c-íraíne donen-íraíne agur iníort uli íad-eoid tpiarín inbeannachtain tuc íru epíort ícur domain íorpín talmain conatoréib. Íre porbennach íraíne ílan-íribdaí achuirp agur afola fen coporár íort íadbírt de díanad lán domain uli othup-cabail corúmeb tpiarartar inbúli írípechu othup nafíadnaíre co dé íraítha.

APPENDIX K.

(See vol. i., p. 136.)

FROM THE "LEABHAR BREAC," P. 241.

A preliminary notice, partly in Latin and Irish, to the *Lorica* of Gildas, informs us that he was the author of it; that it was dictated or recommended by an angel; that its recital is a preservative against death on that day, and remissive of the third part of the punishment due to our sins, while it confers additional graces; that it was brought into Ireland and placed on St. Patrick's altar, and that the metre composed of eleven*

* The undecasyllabic character of the verse is preserved for the most part, and wherever there is a departure from it, it

syllables was written in the *brachicatalecticton** measure.

The *Lorica* of Gildas was brought by Laidcenn, of Clonfert Molua, who is commemorated on the 12th January, ad. 661.†

can be generally traced to the error of the copyist.

* Some would give it simply a catalectic character; but whether viewed as catalecticton, acatalecticton, or hypercatalecticton, it appears irrefragable to any general rule of scansion.

† *Vid.* Felire, in *Leabhar Breac*, p. 79, marginal note.

*Suffragare Trinitatis Unitas ;
Unitatis Miserere Trinitas.*

Suffragare quaeso mihi posito
Magni maris velut in periculo :
Ut non secum trahat me mor-
talitas

Hujus anni neque mundi vani-
tas.

Et hoc idem peto a sublimibus
Celestis militiae virtutibus,
Ne me linquant lacerandum
hostibus,

Sed defendant me jam armis
fortibus ;

Ut me illi procedant in acie
Celestis exercitus militiae.

Cerubim et cerupihim cum
militibus

Gabriel et Michael cum simi-
libus.

Opto Tronos, virtutes, Archan-
gelos,

Principatus, potestates, angelos,
Ut me denso defendentes ag-
mine,

Inimicos valeant posternere.
Dum deinde ceteros agone

Tetas patriarchus

Quatuor quater prophetas Apos-
tolos navis et proretas

Et Martires omnes peto athletas,
Atque adjuro et Virgines omnes
viduas fideles et Confessores,

Ut me per illos salus sepiat,
Atque omne malum a me pereat.

Christus mecum pactum firmum
feriat,

Cujus tremor tetras turbas te-
reat.

*Finit primus prologus graduum
angelorum, et patriarcharum
Apostolorum et Martyrum cum
Christo. Incipit prologus se-
cundus de cunctis membris cor-
poris usque ad genua.*

Deus, impenetrabilis tutela,
Undique me defende potentia

Mee gibre pernas omnes libera,
Tuta peltia protegente singula,
Utnon(t)etri* demones in latera,
Mea vibrentur ut soleant Jacula
Gigram cephale cum jaris et
conas.

Patham, linguam, senas, atque
micenas

Cladium, carsum, mandianum
talias,

Patma, exugiam atque binas
iduas,

Meo ergo? cum Capillis vertici
Galea salutis meo capiti,

Fronte, oculis, cerebro triformi
Rostro, labio, faciei, timpori.

Mento, barbae, superciliis, auri-
bus,

Genis, bucis, internaso, naribus,
Pupillis, rotis, palpebris, tutoni-
bus.

Gingis, anele, maxillis, facie-
bus,

Dentibus, linguae, ori et guturi,
Uvae, gurgulioni et sublinguae,

cervici,

Capitali, centro, cartilagini,
Collo, clemens adeo tutamini

Obsecro te Domine Jhesu
Christe,

Per ix. ordines sanctorum an-
gelorum

Domine meo lorica tutissima.

* Though only *etri* is given in the MS., I have no difficulty in supplying the omission as the *tetras turbas* in the closing lines of the first prologue is only another name for the *tetri demones*; besides, the Irish gloss over it (*spanna*) leaves no doubt as to the absent letter. Those who wish to understand thoroughly the meaning of the *Lorica* are referred to the inter-linear glosses in the "Leabhar mor duna Doighre."

Erga membra, erga mea vis cera	Tege toliam, toracem cum pul- mone.
Ut retundas a me invisibiles	Venas, fibras, fel cum buclia- mine
Sudum clavos quos fingunt odi- biles	Tege carnem, inginem cum me- dulis,
Tege ergo Dominus forti lorica.	Siplenem cum tortuosis intes- tinis
Cum scapulis numeros et bracia	Tege vesicam, adipem et pantes, Compaginum innumeros or- dines,
Tege ulnas cum cubis et mani- bus.	Tege pilos atque membra reli- qua ;
Pugnas, palmas, digitos cum un- guibus,	Quorum sancte patritii nomina*
Tege spinas et costas cum arti- bus.	Tege totum me cum quinque sensibus
Terga, dorsum, nervos cum os- sibus	Et cum decem fabrifactis fori- bus
Tege cutem, sanguinem cum renibus.	Uti a plantis usque ad verticem Nullo membro foris intus egro- tem
Catas, crinas, nates cum femori- bus	Ne de meo possit vitam trudere
Tege gambas, suras, femoralia.	Pestis, febris, languor, dolor corpore
Cum gennelis, poplites et genua	Donec jam domino dante seniam
Tege talos cum tibiis et calicibus.	Et peccata mea bonis factis deleam,
Crura, pedes, planum cum bas- sibus	Et de carne iens labis caream Et ad alta evolare valeam.
Tege ramos concrecentes decies, Cum mentagris ungues binos quinqües	Et miserto Domino ad etheria Letus vehar regni refrigeria.
Tege pectus, jugulum pectuscu- lum.	Finit Amen.
Mamillas, stomachum et umbili- cum,	
Tege ventrem, lumbos, genitalia ; Et Alvum et cordis et vitalia	
Tege trifidum jecor et ilia,	
Narcem, peniculos, fitrem cum obligia,	

* There is a gap here. How-
ever I infer that a special pro-
tection is promised to those
bearing the name of Patrick.

APPENDIX L.

(See vol. i., p. 136.)

HYMN OF THE APOSTLES.

Celebra Juda festa gaudia.
Apostolorum exultans memoria,
alleluia :

Claviculari Petri primi pastoris,
Piscium rete, Evangelii cap-
toris : alleluia.

Pauli gentium egregiis praeceptoris ;
 Vases electi Israhelis seminis, alleluia :
 Andreae atque precamur egregia Passi pro Christi fide advocamina, all,
 Jacobique consobrini domini Preces adjuvent in scammate seculi, all.
 Johannes sani electi ab infantia, Qui accumbebat sponsi inter ubera, all.
 Oris lampadis eloquentes pilippi Opem oremus prole cum pervigili, all. :
 Bartholomae impendamus nutibus,
 Nate pendentes aequora in nubibus, all.
 Tomae tendentes partes inter Parthiae
 Nos illuminet abyssus* scientiae, all.

* The editor of the *Book of Hymns* asks how can *abyss of knowledge* be made out of the word *tom*, which in Hebrew signifies a twin. Well, it signifies not only *twins*, but an *abyss*. St. Thomas is known to have had supernatural and experimental knowledge of the mysteries of our faith, and the Fathers say, "that his incredulity was of more service to us than the faith of the other Apostles." A writer in the *Leabhar Breac* says "that his name, which is interpreted 'abyss of knowledge,' represents the doctors of the Church. Even so early as the eighth century, in the *Felire of Aengus*, he is styled such : Noeb apptal apdriat hi pudeman ecnai gein tomair cenoipne."—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 88.

Mathaei quoque fiscali a munere
 Donati Christum sequentes prepropere, all.
 Atque itidem Jacobi cominus Precem petamus subnixi alterius, all.
 Tathaei tota famon per tellura Abgaro misi Ihesu cum Epistola, all.
 Simionis dicti suapte cannaeae Stolam qui tinxit agni Dei sanguine, all.
 Sorte praelecti Madiani* meritis Siti locemur celorum ineditis, all.
 Marci excelsi mandata justitiae Annuntiantis Christum Alexandriae, all.
 Medici vere Lucae Evangelizae Agnum sequentis virginali honore, all.
 Salvici Patris obsecremus merita Ut deo digna perpetremus opera, all.
 Sancti Stephani primi atque martiris
 Pro inimicis rogantis cum suspiriis, all.
 Horum sanctorum bina septem valida
 Fiant pro quibus ignita demonum jacula, all.
 Possunt extingui ut per propugnacula
 Invitata quo feramus pectora, all.
 Regi regnante abaevo in saecula, Gloria Patri atque unigemto, Simul regnante spiritu cum agio, all.

Nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus ; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum, all. Cele-

* Madian = Matthias means "judgment," or, as the Irish gloss has it, a "gift."

bra Juda festa Christi gaudia
Apostolorum. Exaudi nos Deus
per merita Apostolorum optima,
ut deleantur pessima nostra
peccata plurima per merita et
orationes intercessionem que
sancti Petri et Pauli et Patricii
et caeterorum Apostolorum ac
martyrum omnium sanctorum
propitietur nobis Dominus.—
Fasciculus I., p. 73.

APPENDIX M.

(See vol. i., p. 136.)

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum, hymnum cantus personet, Christo regi concinentes, laudem demus debitam.	Tunc jubet parvos necari tur- bam fecit martyrum, Fertur infans oculendus nili flumen quo fluit,
Tu dei corde verbum, tu via tu veritas,	Qui refertur post herodem nutri- endus Nazareth,
Jesse virga tu vocans, te leonem legimus.	Multa parvus, multa adultus, signa fecit celitus,
Dextra patris, mons et agnus, angularis tu lapis,	Quae latent et quae leguntur coram multis testibus
Sponsus idem et Columba, flam- ma, pastor, janua.	Praedicans celeste regnum dic- ta factis approbat.
In profetis inveniris, nostro natus saeculo,	Debiles facit vigere, cecos luce illuminat :
Ante secla tu fuisti, factor primi seculi.	Verbis purgat leprae morbum mortuos resuscitat.
Factor caeli et terrae, factor, congregator tu maris,	Vinum quod deerat idris* mo- tari aquam jubet,
Omnium que tu creator quae pater nasci jubet	Nuptiis mero retentis propin- nando poculo.
Virginis receptus membris, Ga- brielis nuntio ;	Pane quino pisce bino quinque pascit milia
Crescit albus prole sancta nos monemur credere.	Et fefert† fragmenta cenae ter- caternis corvibus,‡
Rem novam nec ante visam virgine puerpera,	Turba ex omni discumbere ju- gem laudem pertulit
Tunc magi stellam secuti primi adorant parvulum,	Duodecim viros probavit per quos vita discitur.
Offerentes tus et aurum, digna regi munera	
Mox erodi nuntiatum invidens potentiae ;	

* Idris = hydriis.

† Fefert = refert.

‡ Quaternis corvibus.

<p>Ex quis unus invenitur Christi Judas traditor Instruantur misi ab anna pro- ditoris osculo Innocens captus tenetur nec repugnans ducitur, Sistitur falsis grassatur offeren- dus pontio. Discutit objecta praeses nullum crimen invenit, Sed cum turba judaeorum pro salute cesaris. Dicerent Christum necandum turbis sanctus traditur Impiis verbis grassatur sputa flagra sustinet. Scandere crucem jubetur inno- cens pro noxiis Morte cernis quam gerebat mor- tem vicit omnium Tum Deum clamore magno pa- trem pendens invocat, Mors secuta membra Christi laxat stricta vincula Vela templi scissa pandunt, nox obscurat saeculum. Excitatur de sepulchris dudum clausa corpora Affuit Joseph beatus corpus mirra perlitum. Lintheo rudi ligatum cum do- lore condidit Milites servare corpus annas princeps praecepit. Ut videret si probaret Christus quod sponderat, Angelum Dei trementes veste amictum candida. Quo candone charitatis vellus vicit sericum. Demovit saxam sepulchro sur- gens Christus intiger. Haec vidit Judea mentax, haec negat cum viderit Feminae primum monentur salvatorem vivere, Quas salutatur ipse mestas com- plet tristes gaudio.</p>	<p>Seque a mortuis paterna suscita- tum dextera, Tertia die redisse nuntiat Apos- tolos. Mox videtur abeatis quos pro- bavit fratribus, Quod redisset ambigentes intret Januis clausis, Dat docens praecepta legis dat divinum spiritum, Spiritum Dei perfectum trini- tatis vinculum, Praecepit totum per orbem bap- tizari credulos. Nomen patris invocantes con- fitentes filium Mistica fide revelat tinctos sancto spiritu. Fonte tinctos innovatos filios factos Dei. Ante lucem turba fratrum con- cinnemus gloriam Qua docemur nos futuri sempi- terna saecula.</p> <p>Galli cantus plausus proximum sentit diem Nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus. Majestatem que immensam con- cinemus jugiter, Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem saeculo, Ante lucem decantantes Christo regi Domino, Et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo Gloria Patri ingenito, gloria unigenito. Simul cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula.</p> <p>Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion et tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem: Canticis spirituali- bus delectati hymnos Christe coronantes canimus tibi quibus</p>
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tua Domine majestas possit
placari oblata Deo laudis*

* *Vid.* vol. i., p. 184, note,
p. 151, *Fasciculus II.*

hostia spiritali per te Christe
Jesu Salvator. Unitas in Tri-
nitate te deprecor Domine, ut
me semper trahas tibi votum
vovere.

APPENDIX N.

(See vol. i., p. 136.)

From the Book of Irish Hymns of the Tenth Century.

THE HYMN OF ST. MICHAEL.

Trinitate spes mea fixa non in
omine,
Et archangelum deprecor Mi-
chaelem nomine,
Ut sit obvius ac misus mihi deo
doctore,
Hora exitus de vita ista, atque
corpore:
Ne me ducat in amarum minis-
ter inergiae
Ipse princeps tenebrarum atque
per superbiae
Adjutorium succurrat Michaelis
et Archangeli;
Illum rogo ne demittat mihi
truces species
Inimici sed deducat ubi regni
requies.
Adjuvet me sanctus Michael
diebus ac noctibus;
Ut me ponat in bonorum sanc-
torum consortibus.
Sanctus Michel intercedat, ad-
jutor probabilis,
Pro me quia sum peccator actu
atque fragilis:

Sanctus Michel me defendat
semper suis viribus;
Anima egrediente cum sancto-
rum millibus.
Sanctus Gabriel, Sanctus Ra-
phael atque omnes angeli
Intercedant pro me semper
simul et Archangeli.
Eterna possunt praestare regis
regni aulia,
Ut possideam cum Christo para-
disi gaudia:
Gloria sit semper Deo patri
atque filio,
Simul cum spiritu sancto in uno
concilio,
Adjuvet nos archangelus sanctus
Michael dignissimus quem
percipere animas* mittat
Deus altissimus.

* *Vid.* vol. i., p. 131.

APPENDIX O.

(See vol. i., p. 138.)

ST. PATRICK'S IRISH HYMN AT TARA.

Atompriugindiu niurc tpepp
 togarim tpinoit cpetim
 tpeodataib, forpon dena-
 tad induleman bail. Atom-
 priug indiu niurc gene cpiopt
 conabathur, niurc cpoctha
 cona adnocul, niurc nepoirge
 cofpergabail, niurc coriud
 doberethennar bpattha. Atom-
 priug niurc ghab hipu-
 phin, inuplataib aingel, ipre-
 ptul na narpchangel, hi
 'pperchin epeirge, apcenn
 pochraicc, mernnaigcthib hua-
 ralathach, icarpetlaib pa-
 tha, hi ppaiceptaib, arptul,
 mluperaib fuirmebach, in-
 endgai noemingen hingnimaib
 per pircan.

Atompriug indiu niurc nime,
 poilre gnene, etpo chta pneac-
 tha. áne thened, bene lochet,
 luathe gaethe, pudomnan
 mapa, tairpem talmain, cob-
 raibecht ailech.

Atompriug indiu niurc dé
 domluamharacht cumachta
 dé domchuingaib, ciall dé
 domiminchur, pope dé dom-
 peimcipe, cluar de domer-
 techt, bpatthar dé domer-
 labrai, lam dé domimmbegail.
 Intech de dompemthec thar,
 pciath dé domditin, poch-
 raite dé dommanucul, apuic-
 ledaib demna, apaplaigcthib
 bualche, aparnechtaib aicnib,
 arcechnbuine miduthparcar
 dam, icem agur inocur, inuac-
 heb agur hipchaibda.

Tocuiriuur ebrumctha na-
 huile nepcro, ppuoch nepc

nammar neprocarr ppirctido-
 mechurp ocur dommanmain.
 Pritinchelta raibpache ppi-
 dubrechtu, gentiuchta, ppi-
 raibrechtta heretecda, ppi-
 chimcellacht nidlachta ppi-
 cechpurr apachmlu anmain
 duini cpipt dommimmbegail
 indiu arneim arlorcaib arbo-
 dub arguin, conomcthair ilar
 pochraicc.

Chpirt lim,* cpipt pium,
 cpipt imdegaid, cpipt innium,
 cpipt irrim, cpipt uarum,
 cpipt deppum, cpipt tuathum,
 cpipt illiur, cpipt irriur, cpipt
 merur, cpipt icriuidu cech
 duine immimproda, cpipt in-
 gin cech den podomlabrathar,
 cpipt incechpurre nombercar,
 cpipt incechcluar podom-
 cloathar.

Atompriug indiu niurc tpen
 togarim tpinoit, cpetim
 tpeadataib poipin oenadataib
 induleman.

Domini est salus, Domini est
 salus, Christi est salus; salus
 tua Domine, sit semper vobis-
 cum.

* This part of the hymn of
 Patrick would appear to be
 alluded to in the following in-
 vocation of St. Diarmait of Inis-
 clothran: "Christofum, criost
 bamchind, criost cechtar dam-
 thoeb, comchride comchliab rig
 nime na noeb, &c."—*Leabhar
 Breac*, p. 262, col. 2.

APPENDIX O.

(See vol. i., p. 138.)

ALPHABETICAL HYMN OF ST. SECHNAL IN HONOUR OF ST. PATRICK.

The *Leabhar Breac*, p. 238, a, col. 2, states that the hymn is modelled on the Hebrew in the division of the strophes, and consists of twenty-three divisions, four lines in each, and fifteen letters in each line.

Audite omnes amantes Deum,
sancta merita

Vivi in Christo beati Patricii
Episcopi;

Quomodo bonum ob actum
simulatur angelis,

Perfectam que propter vitam
aequatur Apostolis.

Beata Christi custodit mandata
in omnibus,

Cujus opera refulgent clara inter
homines,

Sanctumque cujus sequuntur
exemplum mirificum,

Unde et in coelis patrem mag-
nificat Dominum.

Constans in Dei timore et fide
immobilis;

Super quem aedificatur ut
petrum Ecclesiae,

Cujus que Apostolatam a Deo
sortitus est,

In cujus portas adversi inferni
non prevalent.

Dominus illum elegit ut doceret
barbaras,

Nationes, ut piscaret per doc-
trinae raetia;

Ut de seculo credentes traheret
ad gratiam.

Dominum que sequerentur
sedem ad aetheream

Electa Christi talenta vendit
Evangelia,

Quae Hibernos inter gentes
cum usuris exigit!

Navigii hujus laboris tum operae
pretium,

Cum Christo regni Caelestis
possessurus gaudium.

Fidelis Dei minister, insignisque
nuntius;

Apostolicum Exemplum, for-
mam que praebet bonis;

Qui tam verbis quam et factis
plebi predicat Dei;

Ut quem dictis non convertit
actu provocat bono.

Gloriam habet cum Christo,
honorem in saeculo;

Qui ab omnibus ut Dei veneretur
angelus;

Quem Deus misit ut Paulum ad
gentes Apostolum,

Ut hominibus ducatum preberet
regno Dei.

Humilis Dei ob metum spiritu
et corpore;

Super quem bonam ob vitam
requiescit Dominus.

Cujus que justa in carne Christi
portat stigmata,

In cujus sola sustentans gloriatur
in cruce.

Impiger credentes pascit dapibus
celestibus;

Ne qui videntur cum Christo in
via deficiant

Quibus erogat ut panes verba
Evangelica;

In cujus multiplicantur ut manna in manibus ;	Pro qua ad Christi exemplum suam tradidit animam.
Kastam que costodit carnem ob amorem Domini ;	Quem pro meritis salvator pro- vexit Pontificem
Quam carnem templum paravit sancto que spiritui,	Ut in coelesti moneret clericos militia ;
A quo constanter cum mundis possidetur actibus,	Coelestem quibus annonam ero- gat cum vestibus.
Quam ut hostiam placentem vivam offert Domino.	Quod in divinis impletur sacris que affatibus.
Lumen que mundi accensum ingens Evangelium,	Regis nuntius invitans credentes ad nuptias
In candelabro levatum toti fulgens seculo ;	Qui ornatur vestimento nuptiali indutus ;
Civitas regis munita supra montem posita ;	Qui coeleste aurit vinum in vasis coelestibus,
Copia in qua est multa quam Dominus possidet.	Propinans que Dei plebem spiri- tali poculo.
Maximus namque in regno coe- lorum vocabitur	Sacrum invenit tesaurum sacro in volumine,
Qui quod verbis docet sacris factis adimplet bonis,	Salvatoris que in carne Deitatem previdit.
Bono precedit exemplo formam que fidelium,	Quem tesaurum emit sanctis perfectis que meritis ;
Mundo que in corde habet ad Deum fiduciam.	Israel vocatur hujus anima videns Deum.
Nomen Domini audenter annun- ciat gentibus,	Testis Domini fidelis in lege Catholica ;
Quibus salutis aeternam dat gratiam	Cujus verba sunt divinis condita oraculis,
Pro quorum orat delictis ad Deum quotidie,	Ne humanae putrent carnes essae que a vermibus,
Pro quibus ut Deo dignas im- molat que hostias.	Sed celesti saliantur sapore ad victimam.
Omnem pro divina lege mundi spernit gloriam	Verus cultor et insignis agri Evangelici,
Qui cuncta ad cujus mensam estimat quisquillas	Cujus Semina videntur Christi Evangelia ;
Nec ingruenti movetur mundi hujus fulmine,	Quae divino serit ore in aures prudentum:
Sed in adversis laetatur cum pro Christo patitur.	Quorum que corda ac mentes sancto orat spiritu.
Pastor bonus ac fidelis gregis Evangelici,	Christus sibi cum elegit in terris vicarium,
Quem Deus Dei elegit custodire populum !	Quem de gemino captivum liberat servitio ;
Suam que pascere plebem divinis dogmatibus,	Plerosque de servitute quos re- demit hominum,

Innumeros de Zabuli absolvit dominio.	Cujus ingentis laboris recepturus super praeium
Hymnos cum apocalypsi psalmosque cantat Dei;	Cum Apostolis regnabit sanctus Israel.
Quosque ad edificandum Dei tractat populum,	Audite omnes, etc.
Quam legem in Trinitate sacri credit nominis.	In memoria eterna erit justus; ab auditione mala non timebit:
Tribus que personis unam docet que substantiam	Patricii laudes semper dicamus, ut nos cum ille defendat Deus.
Zona Domini praecinctus diebus et noctibus,	Hibernos omnes clamant ad te pueri: veni sancte Patricii salvos nos facere.
Sine intermissione Deum orat Dominum,	

APPENDIX P.

(See vol. i., p. 148.)

INCIPIT ORDO BAPTISMI.

*Imprimis interroget presbyter
nomen infantis et sufflet in faciem
ejus tribus vicibus ita dicendo.*

Exi satana redde honorem
deo vivo et vero, redde honorem
Jesu Christo et filio et spiritu
sancto paraclito.

*Deinde faciat crucem cum pol-
lice in fronte ejus, ita dicendo.*

Signum crucis salvatoris
domini nostri Jesu Christi in
frontem tuam pono.

Deinde faciat crucem ita dicens.

Signum crucis salvatoris
domini nostri Jesu Christi in
pectus tuum pono. Super . . .

Signo oculos tuos ut videas
claritatem Dei. Signo aures
ut audias verbum Dei. Signo
nares tuas ut percipias odorem
suavitatis. Signo os tuum ut
confitearis ei. Signo cor tuum
ut credas in eum.

Signaculum dei patris et

fili et spiritus sancti qui te
sanum et integrum faciet omni
tempore vitae tuae tibi trado ut
nullam habeat diabolus por-
tionem in te, sed trinitas divina
reget te in vitam aeternam.

*Post hæc ponat sacerdos manum
suam super caput infantis masculi
tam quam feminae, faciens cru-
cem in fronte ejus et dicens!*

Accipe signaculum dei patris
✠ et spiritus ✠ omnipotens
sempirterne Deus, pater domini
nostri Jesu Christi, respicere
dignare super hunc famulum N.
quem ad rudimenta fidei vocare
dignatus est, etc., as in the
Roman Ritual. Preces nostras
quaesumus, etc.

Deus qui humani generis ita
es conditor ut sis etiam refor-
mator propitiare populis adop-
tavis et novo testamento sobolem
novae polis ascribe ut filii pro-
missionis quod non potuerunt
assequi per naturam gaudeant

se recepisse per gratiam per dominum, etc.

The salt is blessed in almost the same words as in the Roman Ritual, and put into the mouth of the infant by the priest saying: Accipe salem N. sapientiae ut habeas vitam eternam. Amen. Dominus vobiscum. Deus patrum nostrorum, etc., as in the Roman Ritual.

Deinde faciat crucem in fronte ejus ita dicens. Accipe signaculum crucis in nomine patris, et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.

Tam super mares quam super feminas.

Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, deus qui moysen famulo tuo in monte Sinai apparuisti et filios Israhel de terra Egypti eduxisti deputans si angelum pietatis tuae qui custodiret eos die ac nocte te quaesumus, domine, ut mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum ut similiter custodiat et hunc famulum tuum N. et perducatur eum ad gratiam baptismi tui per eum qui, etc.

Super masculos tantum faciat crucem in fronte ejus.

Deus immortale presidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum, te invocamus, domine, super hanc famulum tuum qui baptismi tui donum petens eternam consequi gratiam spiritualis regenerationis desiderat, accipe eum, domine, et qui dignatus es dicere "petite et accipite querite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis," petenti itaque premium porrige et Januam pande pulsanti ut eternam ce-

lestis lavacri benedictionem consequutus promissa tui muneris regna percipiat per eundem, etc. *Expulsio diaboli.*

Ergo maledicte, etc., as in Roman Ritual.

Super masculos canitur et dicit sacerdos.

Accipe N. signaculum Domini. Audi maledicte Satanae adjuratus per nomen eterni dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christe filii ejus cum tua victus invidia tremens gemens que discede, nihil tibi sit commune cum servo dei jam Celestia cogitante ac remunerante tibi et saeculo tuo et beata immortalitate victuro, da igitur honorem advenienti spiritui sancto qui ex summa celi arce descendens proturbatis fraudibus tuis divino fonte purgatum pectus, id est sanctificatum deo templum et habitaculum proficiat ut ab omnibus penitus preteritorum criminum liberatus servus Dei gratias perenni Deo referet semper et benedicat nomen ejus in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Ergo maledicte diabole, etc.

Item super mares faciat crucem in frontibus eorum.

Exercizo te immunde spiritus, etc., almost word for word as in Roman Ritual.

Item super feminas faciat crucem. Deus coeli, deus terrae deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus patriarcharum, deus profetarum, deus apostolorum, deus confessorum, deus martyrum, deus virginum, deus omnium bene viventium, deus cui omnis lingua confiteatur et omne genu flectitur celestium et

terrestrium, et inferorum te invoco ut liberas hanc famulam tuam N., et perducere eam et custodire digneris ad gratiam baptismi tui. Ergo maledicte, etc.

Item faciat crucem super feminas.

Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, deus qui tribus Israhel de Egyptiae servitute liberatas per moysen famulum tuum de custodia mandatorum tuorum in deserto monuisti et susannam de falsa crimine liberasti te supplex deprecor domine, ut liberes hanc famulam tuam N. et perducere eam digneris ad gratiam baptismi tui. Ergo maledicte, etc.

Item faciat crucem super feminas.

Exerciso te immunde spiritus per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut exeat et recedas ab hac famula dei N. ipse enim tibi imperat maledicte damnate et damnande, qui ceco nato oculos aperuit et quatruiduanum lazarus suscitavit de monumento, Ergo Maledicte, etc.

Tam super masculos quam feminas crucem faciat.

Eternam ac, etc., as in Roman Ritual.

Hoc expleta imponat sacerdos manum super caput infantis et dicit. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. *Et ponant circumstantes manus suas super corpus infantis.* Sequentia Sancti Evangelii secundum Marcum. In illo tempore offerebant Jesu parvulos ut tangeret eos: discipuli autem comminabantur offerentibus, quod cum vidisset Jesus indigne tulit et ait

illis-sinite parvulos venire ad me et ne prohibueritis eos, talium est enim regnum celorum. Amen. Dico vobis quisquis non receperit regnum Dei sicut parvuli non intrabit in illud; et complexans eos et imponens manum super illos benedicebat eos.

Dicit sacerdos circumstantibus, 'cantate symbolum apostolorum et orationem dominicam,' postea imponat manum super caput infantis et catachizet eum his . . .

Nec te lateat satana imminere tibi penas imminere tibi tormenta, imminere tibi diem judicii, diem supplicii sempiterni, diem qui venturus est velut clibanus ardens in quo tibi atque universis angelis tuis eternus veniet interitus, proinde damnate et damnande da honorem deo vivo, da honorem Jesu Christo filio ejus, et spiritui sancti in cujus nomine atque virtute precipio tibi quicumque spiritus immunde ut exeat et recedas ab hoc famulo dei N. quem hodie dominus noster Jesus Christus ad suam sanctam gratiam et benedictionem fontemque baptismatis dono suo vocare dignatus est, ut fiat ejus templum per aquam regenerationis in remissionem omnium peccatorum in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi qui venturus est judicare.

Deinde cum digito tangat nares et aures de sputo et dicat ei ad aurem dextram et ad nares.

Effeta quod est adaperire, in odorem suavitatis:

Tu autem effugare diabole; et ad aurem sinistram appropinquavit enim judicium Dei. Benedictio Dei patris, et filii, et

spiritus sancti descendat super te et maneat semper tecum.

Sacerdos intrat in templum cum infante et circumstantibus et dicat.

Ingredere in templum Dei vivi ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas in secula.

Sacerdos accedat ad fontem et benedicat eum his verbis.

Exi Satanas, da honorem deo vivo fuge spiritus immunde, da locum spiritui sancto paraclito.

Kyrie Eleyson, Christe Eleyson, Christe audi nos. Pater de caelis Deus, miserere nobis; fili redemptor mundi Deus, miserere nobis; spiritus sancte Deus, miserere nobis; sancta trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria, *ora pro nobis.*

Sancta Virgo Virginum, etc.

Sancta Dei genitrix,

Sancte Michael,

S. Gabriel,

S. Philippe,

S. Bartholomeae,

S. Mathee,

S. Thomae,

S. Jacobe,

S. Simon,

S. Thadee,

S. Mathia,

S. Barnaba,

S. Luca,

S. Marce,

S. Zephane,

S. Line,

S. Anaclete,

S. Clemens,

S. Ignatii,

S. Xiste,

S. Cornelii,

S. Pauli,

S. Antoni,

S. Raphael, *ora pro nobis.*

S. Johanna Baptista,

S. Petre,

S. Paule,

S. Johannes,

S. Jacobe,

S. Cipriane,

S. Laurenti,

S. Georgi,

S. Martine,

S. Sylvester,

S. Leo,

S. Hilari,

S. Ambrosi,

S. Augustine,

S. Hieronime,

S. Gregori,

S. Benedicte,

S. Patrici,

S. Columba,

S. Brendani,

S. Finniane,

S. Ciriane,

S. Fursee.

S. Anastasia,

S. Eugenia,

S. Nicholae,

S. Felicitas,

S. Perpetua,

S. Agatha,

S. Agna,

S. Cicilia,

S. Lucia,

S. Scholastica,

S. Petronilla,

S. Margarita,

S. Brigida.

Omnes Sancti orate pro nobis,
Propitius esto, parce nobis, Domine,

Propitius esto, libera nos, Domine,

A clade et peste et fame libera nos, domine,

Ab noste malo libera nos, Domine;

Ab ira tua libera.

Per crucem tuam libera nos, Domine : Peccatores te rogamus audi nos ; ut parcius nobis dones, te rogamus audi nos : Ut sanitatem nobis dones te etc. ; ut aeris temperiem nobis ; ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nobis dones ; ut domnum Apostolicum in sancta religione conservare digneris ; ut ei vitam et sanitatem atque victoriam concedere digneris ; ut dominum illum regem et exercitum Christianorum in perfecta pace et prosperitate digneris ; ut populo Christiano pacem et unitatem concedere digneris ; ut ecclesiam tuam sublimare digneris ; ut istam congregationem in sancta religione conservare digeris. Fili dei, te rogamus audi nos. Agne Dei, qui tollis, etc., parce nobis, Domine. Agne Dei, etc., exaudi, etc. Agne Dei, etc., miserere nobis. Christe audi nos. Kyrie Eleyson. Christe, Kyrie Eleyson. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum, etc.

Incipit Consecratio fontis.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, adesto magnae pietatis tuae misteriis, adesto Sacramentis et ad recreandos novos populos quos tibi fons baptismatis parurit spiritum adoptionis immitte humilitatis nostrae gerendum est misterio tuae virtutis impleatur effectum, per, etc.

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum, etc.

Sursum corda ; habemus ad Dominum, gratiam agamus Domino deo nostro ; dignum et justum est. Vere dignum et juxtum est aequum et salutare,

nos tibi semper et ubique gratias, domine sancte, pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, qui invisibili potentia sacramentorum tuorum mirabiliter operaris effectum, et licet nos tuis misteriis exequendis simus indigni tu tamen gratia tua dona non deserens etiam ad nostras preces aures tuae pietatis inclinas, deus cujus spiritus super aquas inter ipsa mundi primordia ferebatur ut tunc jam virtutem sanctificationis aquarum natura conciperet. Deus qui nocentis mundi crimina per aquas regenerationis ablucens speciem in ipsa diluvii effusione signasti ut unius ejusdem que elementi misterio et finis esset vitiis et origo virtutibus respice ergo quaesumus, domine, in facie Ecclesiae tuae et multiplicata in ea regenerationes tuas qui gratiae tuae affluentis impetu letificas civitatem tuam fontemque baptismatis operaris toto orbe terrarum gentibus innovandis ut tuae majestatis imperio sumat unigeniti tui gratiam de spiritu sancto.

Hic tangat aquam in modum crucis.

Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus preparatam arcana sui luminis admixtione fecundet ut sanctificatione concepta ab immaculato divini utero in novam renatam creaturam progenies emergat celestis, et quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore omnes in unum pariat gratia mater infantium.

Hic sufflat ter in aquam.

Procul ergo hinc jubente te,

domine, omnes immundus spiritus.

Iterum sufflat ter in aquam.

Procul tota nequitia diabolica fraudis absistat.

Aque iterum sufflat ter in aquam.

Nil hic loci habeat contrariae virtutis admixtio non insidiando circumvolet non latendo subripiat, non inficiendo corrumpat, sit haec sancta et innocens creatura, libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu et totius nequitiae purgata dicessu.

Hic elevat Sacerdos aquam super manum dextram.

Sit fons vivus, aqua regenerans, unda purificans, ut omnes hoc lavacro diluendi salutifero operante in eis spiritu sancto perfectae purgationis indulgentiam consequamur, per, etc.

Hic aquam mittit in fontem.

Unde benedico te, creatura aquae (ut in Rituali R.).

Hic aqua in quatuor partes dividitur in modum hujus ✠ jus figurae.

Et in quatuor fluminibus (ut in Rit. R. usque ad "baptizantes eos in nomini patres et filii et S. S.")

Hic motat vocem quasi lectionem legens.

Haec nobis, domine, praecepta servantibus tu deus omnipotens, clemens adesto, tu benignus aspira.

Hic sufflat ter in aquam.

Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito ut praeter natu-

ralem emundationem quam lavendis posuit adhibere corporibus sint etiam purificantibus mentibus efficaces, per, etc.

Hic deponit in aquam guttas ardentis cereae in modum crucis.

Descendat in hunc plenitudinem fontem virtus Spiritus S. et totam hujus aquae substantiam regenerandis hominibus preparatum arcano sui luminis fecundet effectu.

Hic sufflat tribus vicibus in aquam in similitudinem hujus figurae. ψ

Hic omnium maculae peccatorum deleantur, hic natura ad imaginem tuam condita et ad honorem sui reformata principii cunctis vetustatis scalaribus emundetur ut omnis homo hoc sacramentum regenerationis ingressus in verae innocentiae novam infantiam renascantur.

Tunc spargat aquam super circumstantes et qui voluerint accipiant aquam in vasis suis ad spergendum ubi voluerint; postea dicat hanc orationem.

Sanctificetur et fecundetur, etc.

Hic mittitur de oleo sancto in aquam in modum crucis.

Conjunctio olei unctionis et aquae baptismatis in nomine patris, etc.

Hic mittat crisma solum in fontem.

Conjunctio crismatis hujus sanctificationis et olei unctionis et aquae baptismatis in nomine patris, etc.

Ponant circumstantes manus super Caput infantis deinde accipiat Sacerdos manum dextram infantis, etc.

Abrenuntias satanae N. R. dicit Sacerdos. Et omnibus pom. . . . Abrenuntio: iterum Sacerdos dicit. Et (operibus?). R. Abrenuntio. Sacerdos; Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem. R. Credo. Credis in . . . Christum filium ejus unicum dominum. R. Credo. Et iterum interroget. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum Sanctamque Ecclesiam Catholicam Sanctorum Communionem remissionem peccatorum Carnis resurrectionem mortuorum in vitam aeternam.* R. Credo. . . . Tunc Sacerdos dicit. Et Ego

* The form for blessing water is almost word for word as in the Roman Missal.—*Vid.* Vol. i., p. 118.

te linio oleo salutis in Christo Jesu domino nostro.

[A leaf is missing.]

Hic vestitur infans et si Episcopus fuerit statim confirmare eum crismate oportet.

ORATIO.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui regenerasti famulum tuum ex aqua et spiritu sancto quique dedisti ei remissionem omnium peccatorum tribue continuam sanitatem et veram scientiam ad cognoscendam unitatis tuae veritatem, per dominum, etc.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, majestatem tuam supplices deprecamur ut hunc famulum tuum et digeris serenis aspectibus presentare et cui donasti baptismi sacramentum, longævam tribuas ei sanitatem, per, etc.*

* *Corpus Missal* (p. 102), edited by Professor Warren, Oxford College.

APPENDIX P.

(See vol. i., p. 148.)

(From the Irish Bobio Missal of St. Columbanus.)

AD CHRISTIANUM FACIENDUM.

Deus caritatis totius confirmatio et conditor qui maculas mundi mortem fugandam fecisti te oramus et quoesumus, ut custodias animam famuli tui (ill) ut calcato diabolo corroboret eum ut primi parentis detersis tenebris Christianum nomen fide percipiat.

Item alia.

Deus qui perdita reparas et reparata conservas, Deus qui opprobrium gentilitatis signare sub titulum nominis tui praecepisti ut ad fontem Baptismi pervenire mereantur.

Item alia.

Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui fecisti coelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, respicere digneris ad preces humilitatis meae pro famulo tuo (ill) per invocationem nominis tui confirmes eum, inlumes vultum claritatis tuae super eum. Benedicere et sanctificare digneris, sicut benedixisti domum Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Adsigna ei angelum pacis, angelum misericordiae qui eum perducatur ad vitam aeternam, adjuvante spiritu sancto, et de faucibus inimici liberes eum, et per signum Jesu Christi tempus vitae suae religiose consistat. Per, etc.

Deus qui es, et qui eras, et permanes usque in finem saeculi, cujus origo nescitur nec finis comprehendere potest, te oramus et quoesumus ut custodias animam famuli tui (ill) quem liberasti de ore gentilium et a conversatione pessima. Dignare exaudire eum qui tibi cervices suas humiliat et perveniat ad baptismum fontis regeneratione ex aqua et spiritu sanctum qui cum Patre et Filio vivit et regnat.

Facies signum ✠ in eum et dices symbolum.

“Accipe signum crucis tam in fronte quam in corde semper esto fidelis. Templum Dei ingredi, idola derelinque. Cole Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et Jesum Christum filium ejus qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem cum spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum.”

Post hoc insufflabis in os ejus ter et dices: “Accipe spiritum sanctum, et in corde teneas.”

Incipit Ordo Baptismi.

Exorcidio te creatura aquae in nomine Dei Patris Omnipotentis, et in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi filii ejus, et spiritus sancti, ut omnis virtus adversarii, omnes exercitus diaboli, omnes incursus, omne fantasma eradicare et effugare ab hac creatura aquae ut sit omnibus qui in eam descensuri* sunt, fons aquae salutaris in vitam aeternam; ut cum baptizatus in ea quisquis fuerit fiat templum Dei vivi in remissionem peccatorum in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Christi Jesu filii ejus, et spiritus sancti, qui judicaturus est saeculum per ignem, per hoc signaculum quod permanet in saecula saeculorum.

ORATIO.

Omnipotens sempiternae Deus, adesto magnae pietatis tuae mysteriis, adesto sacramentis, et creandis novis populis quos tibi fons baptismatis parturit, spiritum adoptionis emitte, ut quod humilitatis nostro gerendum est ministerio tuae virtutis compleatur effectum. Deus qui invisibile potentia sacramentorum tuorum mirabiliter operaris effectum, et licet nos tantis mysteriis exsequendis simus indigni, tu tamen gratiae tuae dona non deserens, etiam ad nostras preces aures tuae pietatis inclina. Deus cujus

* This would imply baptism by immersion.

spiritus super aquas inter ipsa primordia ferebatur, ut etiam tunc virtutem sanctificationis aquarum natura conciperet.

Collectio sequitur.

Deus qui nocentis mundi crimina per aquam abluens, regenerationis speciem in ipsa diluvii effusione signasti, libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu, et totius nequitiae purgatae discessu; sit vivis aqua regenerans, unda purificans; ut homines hoc lavacro salutem in eis spiritu sancto purificati, perfectae purificationis indigentiam consequantur. Unde benedico te creatura aquae, per Deum ✠ verum, per Deum ✠ sanctum qui te in principio verbo separavit ab arida, et in quatuor fluminis terrae rigare praecepit; qui te in deserto amarum suavitate indita fecit esse potabilem, et sitiente populo de petra produxit ✠ benedico te per Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum qui te in Chana Galileae signum ✠ admirabile, sua potentia convertit in vinum, qui pedibus super te ambulavit, et ab Johanne in Jordane baptizantus est, qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit et discipulis suis jussit ut credentes . . . baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Qui vivit et regnat.

Sursum corda. Dignum et justum est omnipotens Deus; qui aperuisti nobis fontem vitae aeternae et regenerans nos per spiritum tuum sanctum, quem ducem esse hujus sancti lavacri in remissionem peccatorum et

fieri lavacrum aquae in Spiritu Sancto: per quem omnem maculam tollens a nobis, exuis a nobis mortem, et induis nos vitam: tibi adsistentis in gloria laudamus Patrem semper in coelis et recipientis ex initio virtutem per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Per quem te Deum Patrem Omnipotentem deprecamur ut hic spiritum sanctum in aquam hanc super mittere digneris, ut quoscunque baptizaverimus in nomine tuo et filii tui Dei ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Spiritus Sancti, purificans ac regenerans accipias eos in numero sanctorum tuorum et consummes in spiritu tuo sancto, in vitam aeternam in saecula saeculorum.

Deinde in fontem chrisma decurrente signum ✠ facis et dicis.

Infusio chrismae salutaris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut fiat fons aquae vivae salientis cunctis venientibus in vitam aeternam.

Post haec dices.

Admitte, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, familiam tuam ad fontem salutis aeternae; ut quos de tenebris ad lucem redire jussisti, nullus decipiat fraudibus inimici.

Incipit exorcismus hominis antequam baptizaretur.

Exorcidio te spiritus immunde per Deum Patrem omnipotentem, qui fecit coelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt; ut omnis virtus adversarii, omnes exercitus dia-

boli, omnes incurtus, omne fantasma eradicetur ac fugetur ab hoc plasmate ut fiat templum Dei sanctum, in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Jesu Christi filii ejus, qui iudicaturus est saeculum per ignem, in spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum.

Tangis nares, deinde dicis.

Effeta, effecta est hostia in odorem suavitatis.

Ungis eum de oleo sanctificato, dicens.

Ungo te de oleo sanctificato, sicut unxit Samuhel David in regem et prophetam.

Tangis nares et aures et pectus.

Operare creatura olei, operare ut non lateat hic immundus spiritus nec in membris, nec in medullis, nec in uno compagine membrorum; sed operetur in te virtus Christi filii Dei altissimi et spiritus sancti, per omnia saecula.

Interrogas nomen ejus, dicens.

Quis dicitur? Ill. Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis ejus, luxuriis suis, saeculo huic?

Resp. Abrenunciat; hoc ter dices.

Interrogas nomen ejus. Quis dicitur? Ill. Credit in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem coeli et terrae. *Resp.* Credat.

Credit et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum, conceptum de spiritu sancto, natum ex Maria Virgine, passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum et sepultum. Descendit ad inferna, tertia die

resurrexit a mortuis; ascendit in coelos, sedit ad dexteram Dei Omnipotentis; inde venturus iudicare vivos ac mortuos? *Resp.* Credat.

Credit in spiritum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum; carnis resurrectionem, vitam habere post mortem in gloriam Christi resurgere? *Resp.* Credat.*

Baptizaseum et dicens.

Baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, unam habentem substantiam, ut habeas vitam aeternam, partem cum sanctis.

Suffundis chrisma in fronte ejus, dicens.

Deus Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christe, qui te regeneravit per aquam et spiritum sanctum, quique tibi dedit remissionem peccatorum per lavacrum regenerationis et sanguinem ✠ ipse te liniat chrismate suo sancto in vitam aeternam.

Superindues eum, dicens.

Accipe vestem candidam quam immaculatam perferas ante tribunal Christi.

Collectio ad pedes lavandos.†

Ego tibi labo pedes, sicut dominus noster Jesus Christus

* This is the same as the *Credo* of St. Columba in the *Book of Deer*.

† The custom of washing the feet after being clothed with a white garment prevailed in France, Spain, Africa, Milan, and Ireland. Its use in the

fecit discipulis suis, ita tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis. Dominus noster Jesus Christus de linteo quo erat praecinctus, tersit pedes discipulorum suorum et ego facio tibi; tu facies

peregrinis, hospitibus, et pauperibus.

Post Baptismum.

Spanish Church was abrogated in the Council of Elliberis. Baptism was conferred in some places by having the water poured on the head three times while the body was in water up to the neck; in other places the head was dipped merely three times.—Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, Preface to vol. i., Part IV. The priests, deacons, and, if necessary, the acolytes, got unshod into the water, and so in some places, clothed in white garments, baptized by immersing persons three times, who were then presented to a priest who anointed them.—*Ibid.*, pp. 27-80, vol. ii., Com. in *Ord. Rom.*

See also "Sacramentary of the Stowe Missal."

Laudes et gratias Domino referamus, fratres dilectissimi, quod augere dignatus est Ecclesiae suae congregationem per caros nostros qui modo baptizati sunt. Petamus ergo de domini misericordia ut baptismum sanctum quod acceperunt in libatam, inviolatum, et immaculatum perferat ante tribunal Christi.

Item alia.

Domine Deus Omnipotens famulos tuos quos jussisti renasci ex aqua et spiritu sancto conserva in eis baptismum sanctum quod acceperunt, et in nominis tui sanctificationem perficere dignare, ut proficiat in illos gratia tua semper et quod te ante donante susceperunt vitae suae integritate custodiant.—*Mus Ital.*, vol. ii., p. 323.

APPENDIX Q.

(See vol. i., p. 150.)

FROM THE "BOOK OF DIMMA," WHO DIED CIR 620, PRESERVED STILL IN T.C.D.

"Oremus Fratres ad Dominum nostrum pro fratre nostro N. qui ad praesens malum languoris adulcerat . . . pietas celestibus dignetur curare medicinis qui dedit animum det et salutem per Dm. nrm, etc.

"Dominum vivum omnipotentem cui omnia opera restaurare, confirmare facillimum est, fratres carissimi pro fratre nostro infirmo supliciter oremus quod . . . manum sentiat creatoris aut . . . in recipiendo in

nomine suo pius pater opus suum recreare dignetur per Dominum nostrum, etc.

“Domine Sancte, Pater universitatis, auctor omnipotens, eterne Deus, cui cuncta vivunt, qui vivificas mortuos et vocas ea quae non sunt tanquam ea quae sunt, tuum opus solitum qui es artifex pie in hoc plasmite tuo, per Dominum, etc.

“Dominum cujus manu tam alitus viventis quam vita morientis, fratres dilectissimi, deprecemur ut corporis hujus infirmitatem sanet et animae salutem praestet vero per ministerium nostrum meretur misericordiae gratia consequatur orantibus nobis. Per Dominum, etc.

“Deus qui non vis mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vivat hinc ad te ex cor (de?) converso peccata dimitte et perennis vitae tribue gratiam. Per Dominum, etc.

“Deus qui facturam tuam pro semper donares adfectu, inclina suplicantibus nobis tibi ad famulum tuum* N. adversitate valetudinis corporis laborantem placitus† respice; visita

* Though O'Curry makes *nunc* stand for *nunc* (*now*), I have no doubt that it means here, as elsewhere, the name of the sick person.

† I am confident that O'Curry, who gives the above prayer as a specimen of the writing of the seventh century, is mistaken in giving *placiturus* for *placitus*. The Irish contraction could be expanded into *tus*, but not into *turus*.—*Vid. MS. Materials, etc.*

eum in salutari tuo est celestis gratiae ad medicamentum, per Dominum, etc.”*

In somewhat larger hand the following is given :—

“Si in hac vita . . . in Christo sperantes sumus miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus nunc vero Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiae dormientium quoniam quidem per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum, et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. In illo die accesserunt ad eum saducaei qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem, et interrogaverunt eum, respondens vero Jesus ait illis; erratis nescientes Scripturas, neque virtutem Dei, in resurrectione neque nubent neque nubentur sed erunt sicut angeli in coelo; de resurrectione vero mortuorum non legistis quod dictum est a Domino dicente nobis. Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, non Deus mortuorum sed viventium. Audientes turbae admirabantur in doctrina ejus.

“Divino majisterio edocti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere. Credo in Dominum Patrem omnipoten-

* O'Curry says that the contraction for “per Dominum” is one of the earliest forms; but surely it is not the earliest, as the four preceding prayers are similarly contracted, and precisely as I give the ending to the first prayer.—*MS. Materials, p. 651.*

tem. Credo in Jesum Christum filium ejus. Credo et in spiritum sanctum. Credo vitam post mortem. Credo me resurgere.

“Ungo te de oleo sanctificato in nomine Trinitatis qui salveris in saecula saeculorum.

“Concede nobis famulis tuis qui orantes cum fiducia dicere mereamur. Pater noster, etc.”

Infirmus canit si potest, si non persona est.

Agnosce Domine quod precipisti ignosce presumptionis (sic.) quod imperasti, ignorantia est nobis non agnoscere meritum contumaciae non servare praeceptum quod jubemus dicere. Pater noster, etc.

Libera nos Domine ab omni malo et custodi nos semper in omni bono Christe Jesu auctor omnium bonorum qui regnas in secla, etc.

Pax et caritas Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper nobiscum.

Hic pax datur et dicitis.

Pax et communicatio sanctorum tuorum Christe Jesu sit semper nobiscum. *Resp.* Amen.

Das ei Eucharistiam dicens: Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christe filii Dei vivi conservat animam tuam in vitam perpetuam.

Pro adsumpta ait.

Agimus Domino nostro omnipotenti gratias qui terrenos originis atque naturae sacra-

menti sui dono in celestem vivificavit demotionem.

Post oratio: Ostende nobis miser. (icordiam tuam?).

Converte nos Deus salutarium nostrorum, et praesta salutem nostrorum qui regnas in secla seclor. Alleluia.

Calicem salutaris invocabo. All. Fortitudo mea. etc., usque in salutem. All. Refecisti Christe corpore et sanguine tui, semper dicamus. Alleluia. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, etc., usque in finem. All. Sacrificate sacrificium justitiae, etc., usque in Domino.

*Pax.**

Benedicat tibi Dominus et custodiat te conservat vultum tuum ad te et det tibi pacem.

Resp. Dominus tibi gratias agimus per quod ministeria sancta celebramus et tuae dona sanctitatis deprecimus qui regnas, in secla, etc.

* Some words in the MS. are illegible here, not, perhaps, as if a portion of our text, but as having reference to some other matter over which our Rubric was written in a palimpsestic manner. As I observed already, this form of visitation of the sick immediately precedes the Gospel of St. John. The most remarkable change in the spelling of the words of the Gospel is in the word, “comprehenderunt” [comprehenderunt].

APPENDIX Q. II.

(See vol. i., p. 150.)

FROM THE "BOOK OF DEER."

The Book of Deer, in Buchan, contains a form for administering the *Viaticum*, not unlike that in the Book of Dimma. This is but natural, as the church of Deir was so called from the *tear* shed by St. Columbkille where he parted from his companion, who built a church there, and whose Sacramental Formula may be claimed as Irish.

Oratio ante Dominicam orationem.

Creator naturarum omnium Deus et parens universarum in coelo et in terra originum has trementis populi tui religiosas preces ex illo inaccessibleis lucis trono tuo suscipe et inter hiruphin et Zarephin indefessas circumstantium laudes exaudi spei non ambiguae preces. Pater Noster qui es, usque infinem. Libera nos Domine a malo. Domine Christe Jesu custodi nos semper in omni opere bono, fons et auctor omnium bonorum, Deus evacua nos vitiis, et reple nos virtutibus bonis per te Christe Jesu.

"Hi sund dub sacorfaic."

Corpus cum sanguine Domini nostri Iesu Christe sanitas sit tibi in vitam perpetuam et salutem.

Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine tibi semper dicamus Domine, alleluia, alleluia.

Qui satiavit animam inanem et animam esurientem satiavit bonis, all., all.

Et sacrificent sacrificium laudis, etc., usque exultatione, all., all.

Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo, all., all.

Refecti Christe corpore, all., all.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, all., all. Gloria, etc.

Refecti Christe, etc., all., all., et nunc et semper, etc.

Refecti, etc.

Sacrificium sacrificate iustitiae et sperate in Domino. Deus tibi gratias agimus per quem misteria sancta celebravimus et a te sanctitatis dona deposcimus, miserere nobis, domine salvator mundi. Qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

APPENDIX Q. III.

(See vol. i., p. 150.)

FROM THE "CORPUS CHRISTI" MISSAL.

Ad Communicandum Infirmum.

Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeternae Deus, te suppliciter deprecamur ut accipienti huic fratri nostro sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi tam corporis quam animae sit salus. Amen.

Psalmus.—Lauda anima.

Deus qui peccatoris scelerum onere vulneratos sacerdotibus tuis ostendere jussisti, deus qui discipulis tuis ut bene haberent manus super infirmos ponere precepisti, deus qui per apostolos tuos infirmos oleo ungere et pro eis orare docuisti, deus qui per impositionem sacerdotum manus cum sancti tui nominis invocatione peccata relaxari voluisti, exaudi orationes nostras, et huic famulo tuo N. infirmitatis noxa oppresso per hoc sacrum misterium quod nos indignos famulos tuos agere voluisti remissionem omnium peccatorum largire, quatenus per hanc sacri olei unctionem et corporis et sanguinis tui perceptionem atque manus nostrae impositionem cuncta ei facinora sancti spiritus gratia relaxentur, sanitas animae ac corporis restituantur ut ei non plus noceat quam indulgentia tuae pietatis prosit ad emendationem et veniam te concedente salvator

mundi qui cum patre in unitate.

Benedicat te deus Pater, sanet te dei filius, illuminet te spiritus sancte corpus tuum custodiat animam tuam salvet cor tuum, irradiat sensum tuum, dirigat et ad sempiternam patriam te perducat qui in trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat.

Benedicat te deus coeli, adjuvet te Christus filius dei, corpus tuum in suo sancto servitio custodiri ac conservari faciat mentem tuam, illuminet, sensum tuum custodiat, gratiam suam ad perfectionem animae tuae in te augeat, et ab omni malo te liberet omnia peccata tua deleat, dextra sua te defendet qui sanctos suos semper adjuvat ipse te adjuvare et conservare dignetur. Qui cum patre, etc.

Benedicat te deus pater qui in principio cuncta creavit, benedicat te deus filius qui de supernis sedibus pro nobis salvandis descendit, et crucem subire non recusavit, benedicat te spiritus sancte qui in similitudine Columbae in flumine Jordanae in Christo requievit ipse que te in trinitate sanctificet quem omnes gentes venturum expectant ad iudicium qui cum deo patre in, etc.

Absolvimus te vice beati Petri Apostolorum principis cui dominus potestatem ligandi atque solvendi dedit et . . . ad te pertinet accusatio et ad nos remissio sit tibi omnipotens vita et salus et omnium peccatorum tuorum indultor et qui dedit tibi compunctionem cordis det veniam peccatorum longaevam qui tibi atque felicem vitam in hoc seculo largiatur, et in futuro cum Christo et cum omnibus sanctis ejus sine fine manentem per eundem Salvatorem nostrum qui vivit et regnat, per, etc.*

* Here we find that the priest's was not a naked minis-

try in the Sacrament of Penance. There was a necessity of confessing the sins, contrition being supposed, and of the imposition of hands, with the form of absolution.

There was a *commendation* of the expiring soul. For this the seven penitential psalms are enjoined, without *gloria*, etc. Then all present, as well as the priest, were to say thrice, "Parce domine, parce famulo tuo quem redimere dignatus es pretioso sanguine tuo ne in aeternam irasceris ei." Then a litany for the dying is given. Amongst the saints invoked are SS. George, Sebastian, Christofer, Dionysius, and Maurice.

APPENDIX R.

(See vol. i., p. 150.)

FROM A BASLE MS., FF. III. 15.

(See *I. E. R.*, July Number, 1866.)

Incipit Ordo ad poenitentiam dandam.

Credis in Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum? *Resp.* Credo. Credis quod istae tres Personae quo modo diximus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus tres sunt, et unus Deus est? *Resp.* Credo. Credis quod in ista Carne in qua nunc es habes resurgere in die judicii et recipere sive bonum sive malum quod egisti? *Resp.* Credo. Vis dimittere illis qui cunque, in te peccaverint Domino dicente, si

non remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec Pater vester coelestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra? *Resp.* Dimitto. (Et require diligenter, si est incestuosus, si non vult ipsa incesta dimittere, non potes ei dare poenitentiam: et si vult ipsa incesta dimittere *fac eum confiteri omnia peccata sua* et ad ultimum dicere). Multa sunt peccata mea in factis in verbis et in cogitationibus. (Tunc da illi pe-

nitentiam et dic istas orationes super eum).

Oremus.—Praeveniat hunc famulum tuum N. Domine misericordia tua, et omnes iniquitates ejus celeri indulgentia deleat. Per, etc.

Oremus.—Exaudi Domine presenostras et confitentium tibi parce peccatis ut quos conscientiae reatus accusat indulgentia tuae pietatis absolvat.

(Et caeteras si tempus haberis sicut in sacramentario continentur; si tibi non vacat istae sufficiant. Et si homo ingeniosus est da ei consilium ut veniat tempore statuto ad te aut ad alium sacerdotem in *coena Do-*

mini, et reconlelietur sicut in sacramentario continetur. Quicquid manens in corpore consecutus non fuerit hoc est reconciliatione exutus carne consequi non poterit. Si vero minus intelligens fuerit, quidquid ipse non intelligit in uno statu reconciliare potes eum ita dicendo). Oremus, Praesta quaesumus, Domine dignum poenitentiae fructum huic famulo ut ecclesiae tuae sanctae a cujus integritate deviarat peccando, admissorum veniam consequendo reddatur innocens. Per Dominum, etc.

(Si infirmus est homo, statim reconciliare eum debes.

APPENDIX S.

(See vol. i., p. 150.)

FROM THE "CORPUS CHRISTI" MISSAL.

Visitatio Infirmi.

Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea pax ingredientibus et regredientibus atque ad nostrae humilitatis introitum infirmus iste pristinam consequatur salutem.

Oratio.

Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris et hanc domum serenis oculis tuae pietatis illustra, ut discendat super omnes habitantes in ea gratiae tuae larga benedictio ut in his mansuetis habitaculis cum salubritate manentes, ipsi tuum sem-

per sint habitaculum, per eum qui verus est.

Oratio.

Exaudi nos domine, sancte pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, ut si qua sint adversa, si qua contraria in hac domu famulitui auctoritate majestatis tuae pellantur, per eum.

Benedic, omnipotens Deus, domum istam ut sit nobis in ea sanitas, sanctitas, virtus, sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, benignitas, mansuetudo, et plenitudo legis est obedientia deo

patri et filio et spiritui sancto, et sit benedictio super hanc domum et super omnes habitantes in ea, per, etc.

Hic sacerdos interroget de credulitate sua, dicens.

Credis in Deum patrem et filium, etc. Credo. *interroget iterum.* Credis quod istae tres personae quas modo diximus, pater, etc., filius et S.S., tres personae sunt, et unus Deus?

Credo. *iterum interroget eum.* Credis quod in ipsa carne in qua nunc es resurgere habes in die iudicii, et recipere sive bonum sive malum quod egisti.

Credo. *iterum interroget eum.* Vis dimittere eis qui in te peccaverint, domino dicente si non remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum neque pater vester celestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra. *Si respondit. Tunc predica ei ut se observet ab VIII. principalibus vitiis, id est, Superbia, ira, fornicatio, avaritia, tristitia, ventris ingluvies, inanis gloria, et quaecumque ex his nascuntur, faciat eum confiteri peccata sua, et adultimum dicere: multa sunt peccata mea in factis, in verbis, in cogitationibus et in omnibus operibus malis. Deinde osculetur a cunctis.*

Kyrie Eleyson. Pater Noster, etc. Salvum fac servum tuum: mitte ei Domine: Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis; Domine Exaudi, etc. Dominus vobis, etc.

Oremus.

Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum delectissimi fratres, et cum omni intenta supplicatione deprecamur ut hunc famulum suum

N. per angelum sanctum suum visitare et laetificare atque confortare dignetur, qui cum, etc.

Deus qui famulo tuo Esehiae ter quinos annos ad vitam donasti, ita et famulum tuum a lecto erigat ad salutem. Respice, Domine, famulum tuum in, etc.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, pater Omnipotens, eterne Deus, qui fragilitatem conditionis nostrae infusu virtutis tuae dignatione confirmas ut salutaribus remediis pietatis tuae corpora nostra et membra vegetentur super hunc famulum tuum propitiatus intende ut omne necessitate corporeae infirmatis exclusa gratia in eo pristinae sanitatis perfecta reparetur, per, etc. Omnipotens sempiternus Deus qui subvenis in periculis et necessitate laborantibus majestatem tuam simpliciter exoramus ut mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum qui famulum tuum in angustiis et necessitatibus laborantem consolationibus piis attollat quibus et de presenti consequatur auxilium et eterna remedia comprehendat, per, etc.

Oratio.

Deus qui facturae tuae pio semper dominaris affectu inclina aurem tuam supplicationibus nostris et famulum tuum ex adversa veletudine corporis laborantem placatus respice, et visita in salutari tuo ac celestis gratiae presta medicinam, per etc.

Deus misericors, deus clemens, qui secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum peccata pœni-

tentium deles, et preteritorum criminum culpas venia remissionis evacuas, qui indulgentiam tuam nulla tempora lege concludis sed pulsantibus misericordiae tuae Januam aperis penitentes sub ipsius vitae termino non repellis, respice propitius super hanc famulum tuum remissionem sibi omnium peccatorum tota cordis contritione poscentem renova in eo piissime pater quod actione quod verbo, quod ipsa denique cogitatione diabolica fraude vitiatum est, et unitati corporis ecclesiae membra tuae redemptionis adnecte, miserere domine gemituum, miserere lacrimarum et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia ad sacramentum reconciliationis admitte quia nullius animae in hoc corpore constituta difficilis apud te aut tarda . . . est fidelis, enim es in verbis tuis qui conversum peccatorem non per longa temporum spatia differendum sed mox ut ingemisset dixisti esse salvandum. Per, etc.

Antifona.—Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes, sancta Dei genitrix, virgo semper maria, ora pro nobis precibus que sanctorum apostolorum martyrum confessorum atque virginum suppliciter petimus ut nos a malis omnibus mereamur erui bonis que omnibus nunc et semper perfrui mereamur.

Psalmus.—Dominus vobis cum.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiternae Deus, qui per beatum Jacobum Apostolum tuum dixisti "Si quis infirmatur in vobis inducat

prespiteros aeclesiae et orent super eum ungentes eum oleo Sancto nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum et alleviabit eum dominus, et si sit in peccatis sit dimittentur ei," te suppliciter exoramus ut hic famulus tuus per ministerium sanctae unctionis et donum tuae sanctae pietatis peccatorum suorum veniam consequi, et ad vitam eternam pervenire mereatur, qui cum, etc.

Sacerdote accedente ad infirmum incipiat iste.

Psalmus.—Usquequo domine oblivisceris.

Quo decantato unget eum de oleo sancto et facias crucem super oculos ita dicens.

Per istam sanctam, etc., per visum. Amen. *Psalmus,* Exaltabo te domine.

Per istam, etc., per auditum. *Psalmus,* Judica me, Deus, discerne.

Per istam, etc., per adoratum. *Psalmus,* "Deus in nomine tuo."

Per istam, etc., per gustum et illicita verba. *Psalmus,* "Deus in adiutorum."

Per istam, etc., per tactum. *Psalmus,* "Inclina, domine."

Super pedes.

Per istam, etc., per incossum. *Psalmus,* Domine, Deus salutis.

Super umbilicum et cor.

Per istam unctionem, etc., per illicitas cogitationes et per ardorem libidinis.

Erigeus se sacerdos dicat.

In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, sit olei unctio

ad purificationem mentis et corporis et ad munimen et defensionem contra jacula immun-dorum spirituum. Psalmus, "Domine clamavi."

Interim ablutis manibus dicat.

Domine Deus, salvator noster, qui es vera salus, et medicina, et a quo omnis sanitas et medicamentum venit, qui que nos apostoli tui Jacobi documento instruxisti ut languidos olei liquore orantes ungeremus respice propitius super hunc famulum tuum et quem languor curat ad exitum et virium defectus trahit ad occasum medela gratiae tuae salutem restituat castigatum, extingue in eo, clemen-

tissime deus, omnium febrium estus, dolorum stimulos, et cunctorum languorum cruciatus viscerum quoque et secretorum interna medica atque medullarum sana discrimina. Compagum etiam et artuum dele-catrices veteres et acerrimas compece passiones refoventur in eo carnis ac sanguinis quam creasti perfecta materies sic que illum jugiter tua custodiat pietas ut nec aliquando ad corruptionem sanitas, nec ad perditionem perducat infirmitas, sed fiat illi haec olei sacra perunctio concita morbi presentis et languoris expulsio et peccatorum exoptata remissio per te salvator mundi qui cum, etc.

APPENDIX T.

(See vol. i., p. 152.)

FROM THE "CORPUS CHRISTI" MISSAL.

Marriage Ceremony.

Creator et conservator hu-mani generis dator gratiae spiritualis largitor aeternae salutis, tu domine mitte benedictionem tuam super hanc anulum et hoc argentum, per, etc.

Antifona.—Manda Deus virtutem tuam : confirma deus hoc quod operatus es in nobis.

Psalmus.—Exurgat deus et dissipentur, etc., usque argento.

Oratio.

Respice, domine, de celo super hanc conventionem per

angelum tuum raphaelem pacificum, ut sint sani atque digni tua que eos benedictione perfunde, per, etc.

Antifona :—Beati omnes qui timent Dominum.

Psalmus.—Tunc acceptum a prespitero anulum, imponit polici mulieris, et indici, et in medio digito dexteræ in nomine sancte Trinitatis et facta communi oratione pro eis dicit, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, benedic adolescentes istos et semina semen vitae in mentibus eorum, ut

quiquid pro utilitate didicerunt hoc cupiant facere, per dominum.

Oratio.

Respice, domine, de cælo super hanc conventionem et sicut misisti tobiae et sarrae filiae rapaelis raphaelem angelum tuum pacificum ita mittere digneris benedictionem tuam super istos adolescentes ut sint sani et digni atque pacifici et gratiam celestem in eos perfunde, per, etc.

Oratio.

Benedicat vos Pater, et filius et spiritus sanctus, qui trinus est in uno, et unus es in nomine qui in trinitate perfecta.

Tunc sponsis cereos ardentibus tenentibus inchoat sacerdos Missam ita dicens.

Benedicta sit sancta, etc.

[The Mass for Trinity Sunday.]

At the Offertory we have the rubric : — “ Postquam vero sponsi obtulerint cereos et oblationem suam dicente presbytero ; orate fratres, prosternantur super genua retro prespiterum, velentur palleo cum liberis suis.* ”

It would appear that they remained prostrate till the end of Mass from the following rubric : — “ Postquam autem dicat sacerdos *pax Domini*, etc., conversus retro praespiter ad

populum compleat has orationes super eos jacentes.*

Deus qui potestate tuae virtutis de nihilo cuncta creasti qui disponitis universitatis exordiis homini ad imaginem tuam sancto ideo inseparabili mulieris adjutorium condidisti ut femineo corpori de virili carne dares principium, docens utique ex uno placuisset institui *nunquam liceret disjungi*, deus qui tam excellenti misterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti ut Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum presignares in federe nuptiarum, deus per quem nuptiarum jungitur viro et societas principalis ordinata ea benedictione donetur, que sola nec per originalis peccati penam nec per diluvii ablata sententiam hujus famulae tuae per rudimenta sanctifica, ut bono et prospero sociata consortio legis aeternae jussa custodiat, meminerit que domine non tandem ad licentiam conjugalem, sed observantiam fidei sanctorum pignorum se deligatam fidelis et casta nubat in Christo, imitatrix que sanctarum permaneat feminarum sit amabilis ut Rachel viro suo, sapiens ut Rebecca, longaeva et fidelis ut Sarra, nil ex hoc subdolos ille prevaricatis auctor usurpet nexa fidei mandatis que permaneat feminarum uni thoro juncta, contactus vitae illicitos fugiat, muniat informatam suam robore disciplinae, sit verecunda, gravis, pudore venerabilis, doctrinis celestibus erudita sit fecunda sobole, sit probata et innocens

* This may mean the legitimating the children that might have been born before wedlock.

* *Vid.* fol. 37, 42.

et ad beatorum requiem atque ad celestia regna pariter perveniant, ut videant filios filiorum suorum usque in tertiam et quartam prognem et ad optatam perveniant senectutem, per dominum nostrum, etc.

Oratio.

Deus qui mundi crescentis exordium multiplica prole benedixisti, propitiare supplicationibus nostris et super hanc famulam tuam N. opem tuae benedictionis infunde, ut in conjugali consortio affectu compari mente consimili sanctitate mutua copulentur, per, etc.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui primos parentes nostros Adam et Evam sua virtute creavit et in sua sanctificatione copulavit, ipse corda et corpora vestra sanctificet atque benedicat et societate verae dilectionis jungat, qui que ad parandas nuptias tobiae et sarrae Raphaelem angelum misit, ipse de supernis sedibus sanctum angelum suum mitat qui vos in suo servitio confortet et in perpe-

tuum ab omne malo defendat, et qui dignatus est nasci de Maria Virgine et suo presertatu miraculo nuptias consecrare, quando aquam in vinum convertit ipse nuptiis vestris interesse, nosque sanctificare et benedicere dignetur detur que nobis quieta tempora mentium et corporum gaudium et procreatione in filiorum et filiarum, et post hujus seculi labores faciat nos pervenire ad consortia sanctorum, per, etc.

Benedicat nos Pater, benedicat nos Jesus Christus, illuminet nos Spiritus S. ostendat que nobis dominus faciem suam et misereatur vestri. Convertat dominus vultum suum ad vos, et det vobis pacem, impleat que vos omni benedictione in remissionem peccatorum habeatis vitam eternam, qui, etc.

Deinde surgunt sponsi et sponsae; et dat sacerdos "pax Domini;" et sponsus pacem susceptam a prespitero et tribuit sponsae et caeteris sic eos communicant si digni sunt.

Then the *Post Communion* prayer finishes the Mass.

APPENDIX T. II.

(See vol. i., p. 152.)

FROM THE SARUM MISSAL.

Forma Sponsalium.

After the form and prayers usually found in the Latin-English ritual lately used in

Ireland, we have, after putting the ring on the finger of the bride,

“Benedicti sitis a Domino qui fecit mulierem ex nihilo.”

Resp. Amen.

The psalm, Manda Deus virtute, etc.

Gloria Patri, etc. Kyrie Eleison, Christe, etc. Pater Noster, etc.

Benedicamus Patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu. Laudemus et super exaltemus eum in saecula. Laudemus Dominum quem laudant angeli. Quem cherubim et seraphim, sanctus, sanctus proclamant. Domine, exaudi etc. Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

“Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, sit vobiscum, et ipse vos jungat, impleat que benedictionem suam in vobis. Qui vivit, etc.

Oremus.

Bene ✠ dicat vos, Deus pater, custodiat vos Jesus Christus, illuminet vos spiritus sanctus, ostendat que dominus faciem suam in vobis et misereatur vestri; convertat vultum suum ad vos et det vobis pacem, impleat que vos omni benedictione spirituali in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, ut habeatis vitam aeternam, et vivatis in saecula, etc. Tunc intrent ad gradum altaris sacerdos cum ministris, cantans “Beati omnes,” etc., cum gloria Patri, etc. Sacerdos rogat circumstantes orare pro eis, dicens. Pater Noster, etc.

Salvum fac servum tuum et ancillam tuam, Deus meus sperantes in te. Mitte eis domine auxilium de sancto, et de summo tuere eos. Esto eis Domine

turris fortitudinis. A facie domini. Domine exaudi, etc., Dominus vobiscum, etc.

Oremus.

Benedicat vos Dominus ex summo, ut videatis que bona sunt hierusalem omnibus diebus vitae vestrae, et videatis filios vestros et pacem super Israel, per Christum, etc.

Oremus.

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, bene ✠ dic conventionem istam et sicut misisti sanctum angelum tuum Raphaellem ad thobiam et Saram filiam Raguelis ita digneris domine mittere bene ✠ dictionem tuam super istos adolescentes, ut in tua voluntate permaneant, et in tua securitate consistent; et in amore tuo vivant et crescant, et senescant, et digni atque pacifici fiant et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum, per Christum, etc.

Oremus.

Respice, Domine, propitius super hunc famulum tuum et super hanc famulam tuam ut in nomine tuo bene ✠ dictionem celestem accipiant et filios filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum usque in tertiam et quartam progeniem incolumes videant et in tua voluntate semper perseverent, et in futuro ad celestia regna perveniant, per Christum, etc.

Oremus.

Omnipotens et misericors Deus qui primos parentes nostros Adam et Evam sua virtute creavit, et sua sanctificatione copulavit, ipse corda et corpora

vestra sancti ✠ ficet et bene ✠ dicat, atque in societatem et amorem vere dilectionis conjungat, per Christum, etc.

Oremus.

Benedicat vos Deus omnipotens omni benedictione celesti, efficiat que vos dignos in conspectu suo, superabundet in vobis divitias gloriæ suæ, et erudiat vos verbo veritatis, ut ei corpore pariter et mente complacere valeatis.

Benedicta, etc.

Tunc incipitur, Missa de Trinitate.

Resp. Amen.

There is nothing unusual till the sequence in Paschal time.

Sequentia.

Alma chorus domini nunc pangat nomina summi. Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay. Est unigenitus, via, vita, manus, omouision, Principium, primogenitus, sapientia, virtus. Alpha, caput, finis que simul vocitatur et estoo. Fons et origo boni paraclytus ac mediator. Agnus, ovis, vitulus, serpens, aries, leo, vermis. Os, verbum, splendor. Sol, gloria, lux, et imago. Panis, flos, vitis, mons, Janua, petra, lapis. Angelus et sponsus, pastorque propheta, sacerdos. Athanatos, Kyrios, Theon, panthon, craton et ysus. Salvificet nos. Sit cui secla. Per omnia doxa, etc.

Then the Gospel came.

At the *Sanctus*, four clerics hold at the four corners of the altar a pall over the bridal pair, unless they had been previously married.

After the *Agnus Dei*, the priest says :

“ Propitiare Domine supplicationibus nostris, et institutis tuis quibus propagationem humani generis ordinasti benignus assiste, ut quod te auctore junguntur, te auxiliante serventur, per Christum, etc.

Oremus.

Deus qui potestate virtutis tuæ nihilo cuncta fecisti, et qui dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem tuam facto, ideo inseparabile mulieris adjutorium condidisti, ut femineo corpori de virili dares carne principium; docens quod ex uno placuisset institui nunquam liceret disjungi.

Caveat sacerdos de ista clausula.

Deus qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti ut Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum presignares in federe nuptiarum.

Quia non dicitur, in secundis nuptiis “ usque Deus quem mulier,” ut patet inferius.

Oremus.

Deus per quem mulier jungitur viro et societas principaliter ordinata ea bene ✠ dictione donatur, que nec sola per originalis peccati penam nec per diluvium est ablata est sententiam; Respice quaesumus super hanc famulum tuam que maritali jungenda est in consortio: tua se expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea jugum dilectionis et pacis, fidelis et casta nubat in Christo, imita-

trix que sanctarum permaneat feminarum. Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro ; sapiens ut Rebecca, longæva ut fidelis ut Sara. Nichil in ea ex actibus usurpet, nexa fidei mandatis que permaneat uni thoro juncta, contactus illicitos fugiat, muniat infirmitatem suam robore disciplinae. Sit verecundia gravis, pudore venerabilis, doctrinis celestibus erudita. Sit fecunda in sobole, sit probata et innocens, et ad optatam perveniat senectutem, et videat filios filiorum suorum in tertiam et quartam progeniem, et ad beatorum requiem atque ad celestia regna perveniat, per Dominum, etc.

(Fuit suspensio contra sacerdotem orantem orationem supra dictam super secundas nuptias. Sed suspensio remota fuit per Papam Johannem XXII.)

Tunc amoto pallio, pax data fuit a sacerdote ad sponsum quam ille dat sponsæ, osculans eam et neminem alium, nec ipse nec ipsa.

Post Missam benedicantur panis et vinum vel aliquid bonum potabile in vasculo ; et gustent in nomine Domini, dicente sacerdote.

Dominus vobis cum ; et cum etc.

Oremus.

Benedic dne. panem istum et hunc potum.

Accedat sacerdos e benedicat thalamum.

Oremus.

Bene ✠ dic Domine thalamum istum, etc.

Super lectum.

Benedic Domine hoc cubiculum, qui custodis, non dormis neque dormitas, custodi famulos tuos in hoc lecto quiescentes ab omnibus fantasticis demonum illusionibus, custodi eos vigilantes ut in praeceptis tuis meditentur dormientes ut te per soporem sentiant et hic et ubique defensionis tui semper muniantur auxilio, per Dominum, etc.

Oremus.

Bene ✠ dic Deus corpora vestra et animas vestras et det super vos bene ✠ dictionem, sicut benedixit Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob.

R. Amen.

On festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Benedictus was changed thus : "Benedictus Marie fili qui venit in nomine Domini."—*Sarum Missal.*

APPENDIX T.

(See vol. i., p. 152.)

FROM THE IRISH BOBIO MISSAL.

Te deprecamur, Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, super nos famulos tuos

(ill. et ill.) quos ad gratiam conjugii venire jussisti, qui per nostram licet precem aut vo-

cem benedictionem tuam desiderant.

Tribue eis, Domine, fidele consortium caritatis. Induant caritatem Sarrae, poenitentiam Rebecca, amorem Rachel, gratiam et caritatem Susannae. Descendat super nos famulos tuos (ill. et ill.) sicut descendit

ros pluviae super faciem terrae: manus tuae sentiant actum et spiritum sancti tui percipiant gaudium sempiternum.*

* This in the allusion to the saints of the Old Testament resembles the prayers in the Irish "Corpus" Missal.

APPENDIX U.

(See vol. i., p. 161.)

OFFICE USED BY ST. COLUMBANUS.

"Inde et cum senioribus nostris ab 8 Calendas Julii cum noctis augmento sensim incipit crescere cursus a duodecim choris brevissimi modi in nocte Sabbati sive Dominicae usque ad initium hiemis, ad est, Calendas Novembris in quibus viginti quinque canunt Antiphonas Psalmorum ejusdem numeri duplicis, qui semper tertio loco succedunt Psaltis; ita ut totum Psalterium inter duas supra dictas noctes numero cantent duodecim choris. Caeteras tota hieme noctes. Qua finita per ver sensim per singulas hebdomadas terni semper decedunt Psalmi, ut duodecim in singulis noctibus tantum Antiphonae remaneant, id est quotidiani hiemalis triginta sex Psalmi cursus, viginti quatuor autem per totum ver et aestatem, et usque ad autumnale aequinoctium, id est, 8 Calendas Octobris, in quo similitudo synaxeos est sicut in vernali aequinoctio, id est 8 Ca-

lendas Aprilis, dum per reciprocas vices paulatim crescit et decrescit."

The following explanation of the course of Offices is given by Mabillon:—

"In vigiliis nocturnis brevior modulatio est ut 24 Psalmi cum 8 Antiphonas decantentur, longior ut 75 Psalmi cum 25 Antiphonas dicantur: media ut 36 Psalmi cum 12 Antiphonis ita ut terni psalmi ad singulas semper antiphonas dicantur ab 8 Kalen. Julii ad Kalen. Novembris in nocturnis vigiliis tum Sabbati tum sequentis Dominicae prolixior praescribitur modulatio, ut totum psalterium in his duobus noctibus cantetur. Idem etiam ritus servatus in tota hieme."—Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, t. I, p. 212.

Cursus.

Per diurnas terni Psalmi horas pro operum interpositione statuti sunt a senioribus nostris

cum versicolorum augmento intervenientium pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde pro omni populo Christiano, deinde pro sacerdotibus et reliquis Deo consecratis sacrae plebis gradibus, postremo pro eleemosynas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, novissime pro inimicis, ne illis Deus statuatur in peccatum quod persequuntur et detrahunt nobis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.

Ad initium vero noctis duodecim Psalmi, ad medium que noctis duodecim similiter psalluntur, ad Matutinum vero bis deni, bis que deni per tempora brevium, ut dictum est, noctium sunt dispositi, pluribus jam ut dixi, nocti Domini ac Sabbati vigiliae deputatis.

In quibus sub uno cursu septuaginta quinque singillatim

cantantur. Haec juxta communem dicta sunt synaxim . . . Sed, si sit liber, fervor, quantitas eruditionis, aut status, aut magnitudo studii, aut qualitas operum, aut diversitas statuum postulare, etc. . . .

Sunt autem quidam Catholici quibus idem est canonicus duodenarius Psalmorum numerum sive per breves, sive per longas noctes; sed per quaternas in nocte vices hunc canonem reddunt: ad initium noctis, ad medium que ejus, pullorum quoque cantus, ac Matutinum. Qui cursus sicut in hieme parvus aliis videtur, ita in aestate satis onerosus et gravis invenitur . . . Noctibus vero reverentissimis Dominicæ scilicet vel Sabbati ad Matutinum ter idem volvitur numerus, id est, ter denis et sex Psalmis.—Apud *Fleming*, p. 6.

APPENDIX U.

(See vol. i., p. 161.)

SALISBURY OFFICES.

At *Prime* the psalms used were "Deus in nomine tuo," Ps. 53; "Laudate Dominum," 116, "Confitemini" 117. At *Tert*, "Ad Dominum," 119; "Levavi" 120; "Laetatus sum," 121. At *sext*, the "Ad te levavi," 122; "Nisi quia Dominus," 123; "Qui confidunt in Domino." At *None*, "In convertendo," 125; "Nisi Dominus," 126; "Beati omnes" 127. At *Vespers*, "Laetatus sum, ad te levavi," "Nisi quia Dominus," "Qui confidunt

in Domino," and fifthly, "In convertendo."

Complin consisted of the Psalms "Usquequo," 12; "Judicame," 13; "Sæpe expugnaverunt" 128; "Domine non est exaltatum cor meum," 130. *Complin* closed with the "De Profundis," and suitable prayers.

At each hour was said:—

Veni Creator spiritus, mentes tuorum visita, imple superna gratia, quæ tu creasti pectora.

Memento salutis auctor, qui

nostri quondam corporis, ex illibata virgine, nascendo formam sumpseris; Gloria tibi, Domine, qui natus es de Virgine, etc. The latter part was only used on festivals of the B.V.M., and was exchanged for another more suitable to the office.—Vid. *Usum Sarisb.*, T. C. D.

The second *Benediction* of the third Nocturn was "Doceat nos Domine, terrena despiciere, et coelestia amare."

Benediction of the third Nocturn for office of the B.V.M. was "Fons Evangelica repleat nos dogmate coeli."

Complin.

Dicitur ab executore officii—"Confiteor" ut vir audiatur a choro hoc modo, *respiciens ad altare*; Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ, omnibus sanctis. *Vertens se ad chorum.*

Et vobis peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere mea culpa, *respiciens ad altare*: precor sanctam Mariam, omnes Sanctos Dei. *Respiciens ad chorum*; Et vos orare pro me. Chorus intonat *ad eum conversus*. "Misereatur," etc.

Postea ad altare conversus—"Confiteor."

Deinde dicat sacerdos conversus ad chorum.

"Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni" malo, conservet et

confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducatur eternam. R. Amen.

Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium verae penitentiae, emendationem vitae, gratiam et consolationem sancti spiritus tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors dominus. R. Amen.

Tunc sacerdos hebdomadarius dicit.

"Deus tu conversus," etc. "Ostende nobis," etc. "Dignare Domine," etc. "Misere nostri," etc. "Fiat misericordia tua," etc. "Domine Deus virtutum converte," etc. "Domine exaudi," etc.

Oremus.

Illumina quaesumus Domine Deus, tenebras nostras et totius noctis insidias tu a nobis repelle propitius, p. dm. n. i. xm. fi. tuum q. te. vi. et. re. i. S.S. Ds. p. om. s. seculorum.—Amen. "Dominus vobiscum, et cum spiritu." *Benedicamus Domino, Deo gratias.*—(All the preceding was sung to note.)

Sub eodem tono dicantur et finiuntur orationes.

Horarum ad i. iii. vi. N. V. et completorium.

There were some few changes in the versicles at *Cæna Domini, Pasch, Pentecost, and All Souls' Day.*—(From the Antiphony of Armagh, MS. vellum, T. C. D.)

APPENDIX V.

(See vol. i., p. 166.)

FROM THE "LEABHAR MOR DUNA DOIGHRE," p. 247.

himmeldon aibche dorigneb calum agur aingil nime apcena. himmeldon aibche canic intaingel copur marb pprimgene eazpte uli, himmeldon aibche podiult petar patri ep. himmeldon aibche tuaplucub poil acarcap. hitiugnar gein ep agur aerepzi abar hitiugnar ticfain brach agur bprethemnur for cäch in a áipillub, hitiugnar acpacht ep inacoimbe cona cpoich ndeipz ppa aip do merr for cech noen, hitiugnar ticfa cich fói ferr in bich uli pphoenuair, agur aepé barrap lonbde loirceffr calum uli pphoenuair.

hippim doracab immaind do meu iprlm, hippim nohibppad cäch aodbarcai doper pechta. hippim pucab ep hicongar co poine pilait, hippim tancatar natu muirpe donadnocul, hippim nothomail ep mil agur iarc etip aderciplu iarperepzi, hippim po fepzab implanicid copofuid for deirf dé athar ut dicit.

teipte apirinte nobilpigeab ep opointe pilait, agur ipinte canic pacht inppipa aprelor hi teipte tancatar tuach dé tap rpué ne opbanen. hi teipte po zuidret natu zilla agur daniel pasb incoimbin. hi teipte poacailret tuach iúda ep. hi teipte po tuairgeb iacop do fund luairge. hi teipte polinpath inppipanoib apiom

hi teipte canic rpirab de for apcalu padeiprin, hi teipte po cuirteamuir ieprlm dapcend.

Meldon laf himmoppo ipand dorinned in cu a Dam. melon immarbor. Meldon lai pomarb cam abel; Meldon lai indarbab adaim aparbur. Meldon lai pocuiréa natu me ipin pornd cened lanabubon. Meldon lai ipann pochpochab ep agur po paeppad fil adaim agur porppad napaiche. Meldon lai luid noe inna aipc. Meldon lai canic epti dopidire.

himmoin tancatar mec ieprlm epé muir puaid himmoin porparpad muir hepico. himmoin pucab helu iparbur inachapput. himmoin doreguc doáchuzub pphaner, himmoin ponuall ep hi cpoich. himmoin pozoetab acopp, himmoin porfuid arpirab uad. himmoin poairz iepfn. himmoin podopéab inppian, porcailret nacairge, pobpué in calum agur porceitret nahadnocuil. himmoin porcailt hínbéal inempul—himmoin canic dach pola donatoppib himmoin cumpeuchab inulipánd agur podopchaid inbich agur tapmerich nime agur calum.

hi ppcop ipairt inuam ocep pechta oc meu iprl. bá figuir ep. po cérad dapapcendne po gnataigche asppairt occarum . . . ocep a ta acopp agur afuil diaip

բոր շեհ յաւօրն ուն յարան-
 ստոն յարմար յարմարեւ-
 մեհ. . . .

Օստրապաճէ Երաճարն յարմար
 յարմար յարմար յարմար,
 յարմար յարմար յարմար.

հիւօմբլէր, արան յարմար
 յարմար յարմար յարմար
 յարմար յարմար յարմար
 յարմար յարմար յարմար.

APPENDIX W.

(See vol. i., p. 172.)

FROM THE SARUM MISSAL.

There is no appreciable difference between the Sarum and the Roman Missal down to the "*Agnus Dei*, etc, dona nobis pacem."

Haec sacro ✠ sancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christe fiat mihi omnibusque summentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam aeternam promerendam et capessendam preparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, da mihi hoc sacramentum corporis et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christe ita digne sumere, ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo sancto spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere; quia tu es Deus solus, et praeter te non est alius, cujus regnum et imperium gloriosum sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Pax tibi et Ecclesia Dei. Et cum spiritu tuo,

✠ Deus Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui ductus

miseriordia unigentum tuum pro nobis ad infirma mundi descendere et carnem sumere voluisti, quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo, te adoro, te glorifico, te tota mentis accordis intentione laudo et precor, ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas, quatenus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo, puro corde et casto corpore, servire valeamus. Per eundem Christum, etc. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi qui ex voluntate, etc. Amen.

Corporis et sanguinis tui Domine Jesu Christe sacramentum, quod licet indignus accipio, non mihi iudicio et condemnationi, sed tuae prosit pietati, corporis mei et animae saluti. Amen.

Ave in aeternum, sanctissima caro Christi, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi peccatori via et vita. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Ave in aeternum coelestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus

et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi prosint mihi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum in vitam aeternam. Amen.

In no ✠ mine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Gratias tibi ago, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, qui me refecisti, Domine sancte, de sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et precor ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostrae quod sumpsi indignus peccator, non veniat mihi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem pro meritis meis, sed profectum corporis mei et animae saluti in vitam aeternam. Amen.

Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis in vitam aeternam. Hoc nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine, et coelestis remedi nos faciat esse consortes.

Adoremus crucis signaculum, per quod salutis sumpsimus sacramentum. Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Post communio. Dominus vobiscum. Benedicamus, etc., vel: Ite missa est. vel: Requiescant, etc.

Tacita voce.

Placeat tibi, etc. Amen.
In nomine Patris, etc.*

* There are moreover Masses de Sancta Trinitate, Spiritu Sancto, de sancta cruce, de sancta Maria, de sancta Maria ab adventu Domini, de sancto

Maria a nativitate usque ad purificationem, de Resurrectione, de Petro et Paulo, de sanctis praesentis Ecclesiae, de Episcopo, pro rege, pro pace, in xl. pro pace in loco, pro iter agentibus, contra temptationem carnis, pro serenitate aeris, pro petitione lacrymarum, pro custodia monasterii et habitatorum ejus, Missa communis, Missa communis, Missa communis, pro facientibus eleemosynas, pro fidelibus defunctis in die obitus, Missa in die sepulturae, a prima die obitus usque ad xxx. diem, pro fidelibus defunctis commune, pro episcopo defuncto, pro abbate, pro sacerdotibus, pro diaconibus, pro fratribus nostrae congregationis, pro parentibus defunctis, pro benefactoribus defunctis, pro carnalibus defunctis, pro feminis defunctis, pro his qui in cemeterio requiescant, pro amico defuncto, pro femina defuncta, pro anniversario, pro eo qui sine penitentiae remedio disjungitur, pro sponso et sponsa. Besides the *commune sanctorum*, there were Masses for St. Paul, St. Bridget, Purification, St. Patrick, Annunciation, Invention of the Holy Cross, Feast and Vigil of St. John Baptist, of SS. Peter and Paul, of Mary Magdalene, of St. Lawrence, of the Assumption, Decollation of St. John Baptist, the Nativity of B.V.M., Exaltation of the Holy Cross, of St. Michael, of all Saints, together with Masses for the principal feasts of the year.—See *Corpus Missal*, edited by F. E. Warren.

APPENDIX X.

(See vol. i., p. 173.)

FROM THE "CORPUS CHRISTI" IRISH MISSAL.

The Mass is substantially and almost literally the same as in the Roman Missal down to the following, the third Post communion prayer:—

“Corpus Dni. n. J. C. custodiat me in vitam. Sanguis Dni. n. J. C. sit mihi ad purificationem mentis in vitam aeter-

nam. Placeat tibi, Sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meae et praesta ut hoc sacrificium, quod oculis tuae majestatis indignus obtuli acceptabile que et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli sit te miserante propitiabile.”

APPENDIX Y.

(See vol. i., p. 174.)

DRUMMOND MISSAL.

Agnus Dei, etc., dona nobis pacem.*

Domine sancte, Pater Omnipotens, eterne Deus, da mihi corpus et sanguinem Domini n. J. C., Filii tui ita sumere, ut per hoc merear remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo sancto spiritu repleri, quia tu es Deus cujus regnum et imperium gloriosum permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Quando miscetur corpus.

Haec sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. fiat omnibus sumentibus salutis mentis et corporis et ad vitam capessendam aeternam praeparatio salutaris. Per Christum, etc.

Perceptio corporis etc. Amen.

Corpus et sanguis Dni. n. J. C. mihi indigno maneat ad salutem et proficiat ad remedium in vitam aeternam. Amen.

Quod ore sumpsi, Domine, mente capiam, et de corpore et sanguine Dni. n. J. C. fiat mihi remedium sempiternum. Amen.

* Up to this the Missal is the same substantially as the present Roman Missal.

APPENDIX Z.

(See vol. i., p. 179.)

FROM THE "LEABHAR BREAC."

De figuris et spiritualibus
sensibus oblationis sacrificii
cui ordinis.

Uici ipin cailech ap tur
icon tempriob iped ip techta:
et dicit quosero te pater,
banna lappin; deprecor te
fili, banna lappin; obsecro
te Spiritus Sancte, in tper
banna lappin. Figur in po-
pul donoret in eolur in pecta
núi tpe oentaid choile na
Trinóti ocur tpa eplatar in
Spírta Nóib, ut dictum est;
effundam de spiritu meo
super omnem carnem et
prophetabunt et reliqua, et
ut dictum est: venient ab
oriēte et ab occidente et ab
aquilone recumbent cum
Abraham et Isaac et Iacob
in pegno Dei .i. in ecclesia
eterna primo, ultimo in peg-
no celesti.

Fin iapum ipin cailech ap
in uici .i. deacht Crise ap
doenact for in popul in aim-
rip a turten ocur turten in
popul; ut est angelur per-
monem pecit Crisum uirgo
concepit, .i. ipan pin canic
in déacht ap cend na doen-
acta. Ip don popul dñi at-
berit: numquid ego in utero
accepi omnem populum ip-
tum iterum in trisitia et
in dolope accipiet filior
tuor. In eclair atberit pin,
ut aporetolur dicit: filioli

mei quor iterum parturio
donec Crisur formetur in
uobis.

Iped canair ic tabairt fina
ipin Cailech noppind. Miter
pater. banna annrin; Indul-
geat filius, banna aile and-
rin; Mirepeatur Spiritus
Sanctus, in tper banna andrin.

A canair dñi icon oiprind
iappin itip iteroit ocur op-
tanaib ocur imchormach
copice liachtan na napprol
ocur psalm dígnaib .i. figur
pechta aicnib pin in pohat-
nuigeb aichne Crise tpa rún-
ib ocur gnomaib ocur comul-
tud naicnib, ut dictum est:
uidit Abraham Diem meum et
gauisur est; uair ip tpa
pecht naicnib ic conairc Ab-
raham liachtu Aporetolu
ocur liachtu forcel. Ocur
in difalm dígnaib o sem codi
nochtud coillig oiprind; ip
figur pin pechta lietri in-
beritab in po figurab Crise
ocur ni per cid acht po
figurab ann ocur ni poact
inní ocur ni po forbtigeb
trit, neminem enim ad per-
fectionem duxit lex.

In dí nochtud co leth in
choilig oiprind ocur inna ha-
blaine, ocur, icantap occu
itip forcel ocur alleoir. Fi-
gur pechta lietri pin in po
terphanab Crise co pollur,
act na pacur hé céin co
nhgenir.

Comgabail in choillig oirpind ocup na mepi iap na lán-doirgud i canair in ferra .i. immola Deo pacificium laudis. Fíguir gene Críste ocup a inócbala epia fepcaib ocup mífbulib, noui tēpamentu inicitium fín.

Incan epa éanair, accepit ierup panem rcanp in medio discipulorum fuorum urque in finem, do coirnet fo epí na facairt do aicpige dona pectaid do ponpat ocup idpnaic do Dia ocup canait in palmpa uli, miferere mei deup, ocup ni éeit Iúth i fon leo cona tairmepcther in facairt. Uair iped ip techta cona porcara a menma fpi Dia cid in omni uocabulo icon epnaicēpa. Uair ip bidbu muipd rpirutalla ocup ni hairicim fpi Dia in menip amlaid fín ip denta. Conid de fín ipe ainmm na hepnaiéēpa .i. periculora opatio.

Na epí céimend éinder in fep gpaib fop acula ocup éinnep iterum fop a gnúip, ipé fín tpedi i tuitend in duine .i. in impadud i mbpethip i ngnom. ocup ipe fín tpedi tpepa natnuibgcther in duine iterum co Dia.

In tairmruigud aimpiger in facairt in cailec oirpind ocup in méip ocup in abland, ocup in tamur doirberc fop fín abland dia combach, fíguir fíd inna hairēpa ocup inna hepoipene ocup inna nepga-

bail fop fulaimg Críste ocup ipe fín a éaicmech rianpaide. Ocup in abland fop fín méip, coland Críste fop fín epnoich.

Acombach fop fín méip, coland Críste do combach fpi epand epochi.

In éompac compacēip inba leth iap fín combach, fíguir oige chuipr Críste iap nepergí; in fodbuzad fodbaircther na da leth iapum, fíguir fín fodbaircti inna fule do ébpenpat Iudaige a coland Críste. In pand berair a híctar in leéi bir iláim clí in facairt, fíguir fín ind athcumai curin lagin i láim Lonzini ipind acpail éóibe deipr Iprú; uair ip riar boi aiged Críste ina épnoich .i. fpirin catraig Ierupalem ocar ip rair po boi aiged Lonzini, ocup inntí po pu tuathbel doipum ipred ón po do depp do Críste; uair ipred boi aiged Críste fpinde oc tibeche chucand—ut uictum erit: opietur in diebus illis uobis timentibus nomen domini sol iurctiae et dominus ab oriente ueniet. A chul immorpo, fpinid ic toct uand ocup pe ic tozarim éaich uli éuci ina diaid, dicent: uenite omnes ad me porc me.

In éongbail congbur lam in tfacairt in moip ocup in coilech oirpind, fíguir comthinoil fín muicēpa nime ocup talman in oen muicēp .i. muicēp nime pep menpam, muicēp talman pep calicem.

APPENDIX AA.

(See vol. i., p. 181.)

THE "GLORIA IN EXCELSIS," FROM THE "LEABHAR BREAC."

<p>"Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax omnibus bonae voluntatis tuae. Laudamus Te : benedicimus Te : adoramus te : glorificamus te : gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam : Domine Deus, rex coelestis. Deus Pater Omnipotens ; Domine Fili unigenite Jesu</p>	<p>Christe qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram : Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus : tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus Ihesu Christe, cum Patre Spiritu Sancto in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."</p>
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APPENDIX BB.

(See vol. i., p. 185.)

FROM THE MISSAL OF ST. RUADHAN, LOTHRA, WHO LIVED IN THE SIXTH CENTURY, NOW IN THE KEEPING OF LORD ASHBURNHAM.

"Peccavimus, Domine, peccavimus, parce peccatis nostris, et salvas nos qui gubernasti noe super undas diluvii, exaudi nos qui Jonam de abiso verbo revocasti, libera nos qui Petro mergente manum porrexisti, auxilare nobis, Christe," etc.

"Letania apostolorum ac martirum sanctorum virorum et virginum incipit. Deus in adjutorium nostrum intende. Gloria in excelsis," etc.

Collecta—Oratio prima Petri : —"Deus qui culpa offenderis, poenitentia placaris, afflictorum genitus respice, et mala quae juste irrogas misericorditer averte." Per, etc.

Lectio. 1 Corin. (ch. xi., v.

26). Fratres, quotiescunque manducabitis, etc.

Oratio.—Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, qui populum tuum, etc. Res. Quaeite Dominum et confirmamini. Fortitudo mea, et laudatio mea, etc, usque in salutem. Sacrificio praesentibus, Domine, quaesumus, intende placatus, ut devotionis nostrae proficiant ad salutem.

"Deprecatio S. Martini pro populo incipit : Amen. Deo gratias." Dicamus omnes "Domine exaudi, etc., et miserere."

Leth direch sund.

[Half uncovering (of the chalice) here.]

Dirigatur Domine, etc., usque

ad *vesperinum*. Tunc canitur (hic elevatur linteamen de calice) veni Domine, sanctificator omnipotens, et benedic hoc sacrificium praeeparatum tibi. Amen.

Tunc canitur lc. evangelii sec. Johannem. dns. n. i. x. dixit. Ego sum panis, etc. (John, vi. c.): et oratio* Gg. (Gregorii) sr. Evangelium.

Quaesumus, dne, Omnipotens, etc.

Lan dierch sund.

[A full uncovering (of the chalice) here.]

Credo, etc., cujus regni non erit finis. Et in spiritum sanctum, dominum et vivificantem, ex patre procedentem cum patre et filio coadorandum et conglorificandum.†

Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Habemus hic ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare nos tibi hic semper et ubique gratias agere,

* Quaesumus omnipotens Deus, ne nos tua misericordia derelinquat, quae et errores nostros semper amoveat, et noxia cuncta depellat. Per, etc.

† In a more recent hand we have, "Qui ex patre filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur," as we at present repeat in the Constantinopolitan Creed. The Creed had been a mixture of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan.

Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui cum unigenito tuo et spiritu sancto deus et unus, et immortalis deus, incorruptibilis et immortalis deus, invisibilis et fidelis deus, mirabilis et laudabilis deus, honorabilis et fortis deus, altissimus et magnificus deus, unus et verus deus, sapiens et potens deus, sanctus et spiciosus deus, magnus et bonus deus, terribilis et pacificus deus, pulcher et rectus deus, purus et benignus deus, beatus et justus deus, pius et sanctus, non unius singulariter personae sed unius trinitatis substantiae, te credimus, te benedicimus, te adoramus, te laudamus nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum seculi per quem salus mundi, per quem vita hominum, per quem resurrectio mortuorum.

Isund totet dignum intormagind maid per quem bessinadiudithall.

Per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli adorant dominationes tremunt potestates, coeli coelorumque virtutes ac beata seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant, cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamus, supplicii confessione dicentes.

Sanctus.

Isund totet dignum intormagind maid sanctus bessinadiudithall.

Sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua. O sanna in excelsis: benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, O sanna in excelsis ✠ benedictus qui venit de caelis ut conversaretur in terris

homo factus est ut dilecta carnis deleret nostra, factus est ut per passionem suam vitam eternam credentibus daret. Per dominum.

Canon dominicus papae gilasi.

Te igitur clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus te et petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia inlibata, inprimis quae tibi offerimus pro tua sancta ecclesia Catholica quam pacificare custodire, et unare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum papa nostro episcopo sedis apostolicae et antistite nostro et omnibus orthodoxis atque Catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus ✠ et abbate nostro n. episcopo.

Hic recitantur nomina vivorum.

Memento Domine famulorum etiam tuorum N. et omnium circumadstantium quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, omnium pro quibus tibi offerimus vel omnium qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se suis que omnibus pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro statu servorum suorum et ministrorum omnium puritate pro integritate virginum, et continentia viduarum, pro aeris tempore et fructuum fecunditate terrarum, pro pacis redetu, et fine discriminum, pro incolomitate regum et pace, ac reditu captivorum, pro votis adstantium, pro memoria martirum, pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum et actu emendatione eorum, ac requie defunctorum et prosperitate itineris nostri, pro domino papa

episcopo et omnibus episcopis et prespeteris et omni aecclesiastico ordine pro imperio Romano et omnibus regibus Christianis, pro fratribus et sororibus nostris, pro fratribus in *via directis*,* pro fratribus quos de

* *In via directis*.—I have as little hesitation in saying that this is the correct reading as that Mr. Warren's version of it (*mina directis*) is incorrect and unmeaning. Professor Warren should bear in mind that the Irish *v* is the same as *u*, and thus his *ina* becomes *via*. Those out of this world are contrasted by the writer with those *in it*—*in via*—*Viatores*. "Ne deficere possit peregrinus in *via* . . . recto tramite ad regnum tuum perveniam."—*Oratio S. Ambrosii pro Sabbato*. Again, St. Augustine, *Tract.* 124, in John, has "Una in tempore peregrinationis, altera in aeternitate mansionis; una in *via*, altera in *patria*." So, too, is the opposition expressed in like language by St. Gregory the Great:—"In praesenti etenim vita quasi in *via* sumus, qua ad patriam pergamus."—*Hom. ii. in Evangelia*. Once again, this contrast is nicely brought out in the Irish "Bobio Missal" in a Preface to a Mass (*Mus. Ital.* vol. 2, p. 332), "per viam gradientes—(*directis*) coelestem ducit ad patriam." Again, in the office for the first Friday in Lent at Lauds "Sis ductor, et lux in *via*, Mercedes, corona in *patria*." In a word, contrast between *via* and *patria* is expressed in all the Patristic writings and sacred offices of the Church.

caliginosis mundi hujus tenebris dominus arciscire dignatus est, uti eos in aeterna summae lucis quiete pietas divina suscipiat, pro fratribus variis dolorum generibus adfiguntur, uti eos divina pietas curare dignetur, pro spe salutis et incolunitatis suae tibi reddunt vota sua eterno. Communicantes.

In natale domini.

(Et diem sacratissimam celebrantes in quo incontaminata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem.)

Kl. (kalends.)

Et diem sacratissimam celebrantes circumcisionis domini nostri ihu xpi.

Stellae.

Et diem sacratissimam celebrantes.

Natalis calicis xpi.

Et diem sacratissimam celebrantes natalis calicis Domini ihu xpi.

Pascha.

Et noctem* vel diem sacratissimam resurrectionis dni. nostri ihu xpi.

In clausula paschae.

Et diem sacratissimam cele-

brantes clausulae paschae, dni. ihu xpi.

Ascensio.

Et diem sacratissimam celebrantes ascensionis dni. nostri ihu xpi ad coelum.

Pentacosten.

Et diem sacratissimam celebrantes quinquagesimae dni. nostri ihu xpi in qua spiritus sanctus super apostolos descendit.

Et memoriam venerantes imprimis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae genetricis dei et dni ni ihu xpi M. tuorum petri sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martirum Pauli, Anriac, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomae, Jacob, Pilippi, Barthomaei.

Matthaei, Simonis et Thathei, Lini, et anacleti, etc. (as in Roman Missal).

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus in honorem dni. ni ihu xpi., et in commemorationem beatorum martirum tuorum in hac ecclesia quam famulus tuus ad honorem nominis gloriae tuae aedificavit, quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, eum que atque omnem populum ab idolorum cultura eripias, et ad te deum verum omnipotentem convertas, dies que nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripis et in electorum tuorum jubeas, etc. (as in Roman Missal).

After the words of consecration. instead of *in mei memoriam facietis*, there is "memoriam faciat, passionem mei predica-

* *Noctem*.—The Feast of the Resurrection was called *night*, as it was celebrated at day-break: hence midnight on Holy Saturday was another name for the end of Lent.—Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 48, col. 1.

bitis, resurrectionem meam adnuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis donec iterum veniam ad vos de coelis.

Unde et memores, etc. (as in Roman Missal, without any notable deviation). After "*et dormiunt in somno pacis*," there is added, "*cum omnibus in toto mundo offerentibus sacrificium spirituale* deo patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sacris et venerabilibus sacerdotibus offert senior noster N. prespiter pro se suis et pro totius ecclesiae cetu Catholicae, et pro commemorando anathetico gradu venerabilium patriarcharum, profetarum, apostolorum, et marti-*

* *Spirituale* means mystical. Thus, St. Augustine, after speaking of the presence of the real Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, says:—*Panem coelestem spiritualiter manducate.*—*Hom. Tract, 26, in Johannem.* So, too, in the Irish language, *spirituale* is rendered by *runda* (mystic).—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 196, cols. 1-2., p 168, col. 2. So, again, in the Mass for St. Patrick, we read, "*Ut qui spirituale sacrificium in honorem S. Patritii, etc.*"—*Corpus Missal*, p. 150, edited by the learned E. F. Warren. That the mystical was real and opposed to the figurative is clearly shown by St. Basil on fasting. I quote the Latin version for the greater convenience of printer and all: "*Non solum in mystica nunc et vera Dei adoratione, sed nec in illa in qua sacrificium secundum legem in figura offerebatur.*"—*Hom 1., de jejuniis ante medium.*

rum, et omnium quoque sanctorum, ut pro nobis Dominum Deum nostrum exorare dignentur.

Sancte Stephane, ora pro nobis.

S. Martine, etc.

S. Hironime,

S. Augustine,

S. Grigori,

S. Hilari,

S. Patrici,

S. Albei,

S. Finnio,

S. Finnio,

S. Ciarani,

S. Ciarani,

S. Brendini,

S. Columba,

S. Columba,

S. Cainichi,

S. Findbarri,

S. Nessani,

S. Factni,

S. Lugidi,

S. Lacteni,

S. Ruadani,

S. Carthagi,

S. Comgeni,

S. Mochonne,

S. Brighta,

S. Ita,

S. Scetha,

S. Sinecha,

S. Samdine.

Omnes Sancti orate pro nobis,

Propitius esto, parce nobis, Domine,

Propitius esto, libera nos, Domine,

Ab omni malo nos, Domine ; per crucem tuam libera nos,

Domine ; peccatores te rogamus audi nos ; Fili Dei te rogamus audi nos ; ut pacem dones, te

rogamus audi nos ; Agne Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis ;

Christe audi nos,

Christe audi nos, Christe audi nos.

Oratio Ambrosii.

Ante conspectum divinae majestatis tuae Deus adsisto qui invocare nomen sanctum tuum presumim, miserere mihi dne. homini peccatori luto feccis* immunde inherenti, ignosce indigno sacerdoti per cujus manus haec oblatio videtur offeri† parce

dne. polluto peccatori labe prae ceteris capitalium, et non intres in judicio cum servo tuo quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens scilicet vitiis et voluntatibus carnis gravati sumus recordare domine quod caro sumus et non est alius tibi comparandus in tuo conspectu : etiam coeli non sunt mundi quanto majus nos homines terreni quorum ut dixit :—

Ablis,
Zeth,
Enoc,
Noe,
Melchisedech,
Isac,
Jacob,
Joseph,
Job,
Mosi,
Essu,
Samuelis.
David,
Heliae,
Helessiae,
Essaiae,
Heremiae,
Ezechielis,
Danielis,
Hestre,
Osse,
Johel,
Amos,
Abdiae,
Jonae,
Michiae,
Naum,
Ambacuc,
Sophoniae,
Agiae,
Sachariae,

* Beyond question, Professor Warren's reading of *luto foecis*, in the prayer of St. Ambrose, is incorrect. The italicised words are taken from the 39th Ps. : "de lacu miseriae et de luto faecis." He has made *vito* out of *luto*, quite unmeaningly, by forgetting that the old Irish *l* is like the first stroke in *u*, and that, unless a capital letter, it, as all the other letters, does not rise above a common horizontal level.

† *Oblatio videtur offeri.* This idea is more fully expressed in the *Vision of Adamnan*: Ḃṛ n̄ he m̄pacap̄c̄ iap̄p̄iṛ Ḃo ḡn̄ iṛeḂap̄ap̄c̄iṛiṛ iṛep̄, ciḂ he ac̄ciḂaiḂ iḂon̄c̄iṛiṛeḂc̄, ac̄c̄ iṛu c̄p̄ p̄en Ḃo ḡn̄̄ c̄om̄p̄oḂ ḡ b̄eṛḂac̄aiḂ iṛ ab̄ap̄ḡiṛne ḡ iṛ p̄f̄na ap̄iṛaiḂneḂ ac̄h̄uṛp̄ ḡ a p̄ola p̄en iṛc̄an c̄hanuṛ iṛp̄ac̄ap̄c̄ na b̄ṛiṛaṛa c̄an c̄p̄.—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 237, col. 1, 9th line from bottom.

"Since it is not the priest who really offers up the sacrifice at all, though his ministration is visible, but Jesus Christ Himself, who blesses and converts the loaves and wine into the real nature of his body and

his own blood, when the priest pronounces the words uttered by Christ Himself."—See vol. i., p. 126.

Malachiae,
 Tobiae,
 Ananiae,
 Azariae,
 Misahelis,
 Machabaeorum,
 Item infantum,
 Johannis baptistae
 Et virginis,
 Mariae,
 Petri,
 Pauli,
 Andriae,
 Jacobi,
 Johannis,
 Pilippi,
 Bartholemae,
 Tomae,
 Mathaei,
 Jacobi,
 Simonis,
 Tathei.

Manchan, madian,* marci,
 lucae, stefanae, corneli, cipriani,
 et caeterorum martyrum, pauli,
 antoni, et caeterorum Patrum
 heremi scite, item episcoporum
 martini, Grigori, maximi, felici,
 patrici, secundini, auxili,
 isernini, cerbani, erci, catheri,
 ibari, ailbi, conlai, maicnissae,
 moinena, senani, findbari, col-
 mani, cuani, daelach, laurenti,
 melleti, justii, aedo, dagani,
 tigernich, muchti, ciannani,
 buite, eogeni, declani, carthaei,
 mailruen, item et sacerdotum,
 Finniani, ciarani, aengussa, endi,
 gildae, brendini, brendini, cain-
 nichii, columbae, columbae, col-
 mani, comgelli, coemgen, et
 omnium pausantium qui nos in

* Madiam was another form
 of Matthias.—See vol. ii., Ap-
 L., note †.

dominica pace preces erunt a
 abel usque in hodiernam diem
 quorum deus non nominavit et
 novit, ipsis et omnibus in xpo
 quiescentibus locum refrigerii
 (as in the Roman Missal).

And then, in commemorating
 the departed martyrs, and ask-
 ing a share in their glory, men-
 tion is made of the martyrs,
 "Peter and Paul and Patrick."

Then, after the *Per omnia
 saecula saeculorum*, we have :
 Fiat domine misericordia tua
 super nos, quemadmodum spe-
 ramus in te : cognoverunt dnm.
 alleluia, in fractione panis, al.,
 panis quem frangimus corpus
 est domini nostri Jesu Christe,
 all. Calix quem benedicimus,
 all., sanguis est dnm. ni. ihu
 xpi., all., in remissionem pecca-
 torum nostrorum, all.

Fiat domine misericordia
 tua super nos, all., quemamo-
 dum speravimus in te, all. Cog-
 noverunt dnm., all.

Credimus, domine, credi-
 mus in hac confractioe corporis
 et effusione sanguinis nos esse
 redemptos et confidimus sacra-
 menti hujus adsumptione muni-
 tos ut quod spe interim hic
 tenemus mansuri in coelestibus
 veris fructibus perfruamur, per
 dnm.

Divino magisterio edocti, et
 divina institutione formati aude-
 mus dicere, pater noster, etc.
 Libera nos dne. ab omni malo
 preterito, presenti, et futuro, et
 intercedentibus pro nobis beatis
 apostolis tuis petro, et paulo, et
 patricio, da propitius pacem,
 etc.

Pax et caritas dni nostri
 Jesu Christe et communicatioe

sanctorum omnium sit semper nobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

“Pacem mandasti, pacem dedisti, pacem derelinquisti, pacem tuam dne. da nobis de coelo, et pacificum hunc diem, et caeteros dies vitae nostrae in tua pace disponas, per dnm.

Commixtio corporis et sanguinis dmni. ni. ihu xpi., sit nobis salus in vitam perpetuam. Amen.

Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollis peccata mundi, pacem meam do vobis, all. pacem relinquo vobis, all. pax multa diligentibus legem tuam dmne., all. et non est in illis scandalum, all. regem coeli cum pace, all. plenum odoris vitae, all. novum carmen cantare, all. omnes sancti venite, all. venite comedite panem meum, all. et libite vinum quod miscui vobis, all. dns. regit me qui manducat corpus meum et bibit meum sanguinem, all. ipse in me manet et ego in illo, all. dmni. est terra . . hic est panis vivus qui de coelo descendit, all. qui manducat ex eo vivet in aeternum, all. ad te dne. levavi animam meam, panem coeli dedit eis dns., all. panem angelorum manducavit homo, all. iudica me dne. . . . Comedite amici mei, all. et inebriamini carissimi, all. hoc sacrum corpus dni. salvatoris sanguinem, all. sumite vobis in vitam eternam, all. in labiis meis meditabor ymnum, all. cum docueris me et ego justitias* respondebo,

* There is little room for doubt that this word is the proper expansion of the con-

all. benedicam dnm. in omni tempore, all. semper laus ejus in ore meo, all. gustate et videte, all. suavis est dns., all. ubi ego fuero, all. ibi erit minister meus, all. sinite parvulos venire ad me, all. et nolite eos prohibere, all. tallium enim est regnum coelorum, all. penitentiam agite, all. appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum, all. regnum coelorum vim patitur, all. et violenti rapiunt illud, all. venite benedicti patris mei, possidete regnum, all. quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, all. gloria . . venite, etc., sicut erat, etc., venite (moel caich scripsit): praesta ut quos celesti domine dono satiasti et a nostris emundemur occultis, et ab ostium liberemur

traction out of which Professor Warren, Oxford (MS. Irish Missal, etc., p. 10), unmeaningly has produced *istias*. The mistake arose from not remembering that the Irish *i* and *j* are the same in form, and that the next letter is not *s*, but the Irish contraction for *us*; so that the first syllable of *justitia* is represented in Irish contractions by a loosely-jointed *B*. Reference is made here to Holy Writ as often in the Irish Bobio Missal (See vol. i., p. 199), not by quoting literally the Vulgate, but either its substance or the Itala version. The Vulgate, Ps. cxviii, 171, has: “Eructabant labia mea hymnum cum docueris me justificationes tuas. Pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum.”

insidiis. gratias tibi agimus domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aeternae deus, qui nos corporis et sanguinis xti. filii tui comunione satiasti, tuam que misericordiam postulamus, ut hoc tuum domine sacramentum non sit nobis reatus ad penam, sed intercessio salutaris ad veniam, sit ablutio scelerum, sit fortitudo fragilium, sit contra mundi pericula firmamentum.

hoc nos comunio purget a crinine et celestis gaudii tribuat esse participes.—Missa acta est in pace.

Besides this Mass there follow, in the Stowe Irish Missal, Missa Apostolorum, et sanctorum et sanctorum Virginum, Missa pro penitentibus vivis, Missa pro mortuis.

APPENDIX CC.

(See vol. i., p. 191.)

From the Irish Mass in the Library of the Palatine of the Rhine.

Si ante oculos, tuos, Domine, culpas quas fecimus et plagas quas vel durissimas in hac vita pati possumus conferamus, minus est quod est patimur majus est quod meremur. Peccati poenam sentimus et peccandi pertinaciam non evitemus. In flagellis tuis fragilitas nostra frangitur, et iniquitas non mutatur. Mens aegrota torquetur, et cervix dura non flectitur.

Vita in dolore suspirat, et tamen in opere non emendat. Si expectemus non corrigimur, si vindices non duramus; confitemur in corruptione quod fecimus, obliviscimur in visitatione quod flevimus; si impreseris manum facienda promittimus; si suspenderes gladium promissa non facimus; si ferias clamamus ut parcas; si parcas

From the Irish Bobbio Missal.

Ante oculos tuos Domine culpas, quas fecimus, et plagas excepimus conferimus, minus est quod patimur. Peccati poenam sentimus et peccati pertinaciam non vitamus. In flagellis tuis, Domine, fragilitas nostra vincitur et iniquitas non mutatur. Mens aegrota torquetur, et cervix dura non flectitur. Vita in dolore suspirat et in opere non emendat. Si expectas, Domine, non corrigimur; si vindicas non duramus. Confitemur in confractione quod laesimus. Si oppreseris manum facienda promittimus; si suspenderes gladium promissa non facimus. Si ferias clamamus ut parcas; si iterum peperceris te provocamus ut ferias. Si angustia venerit tempus peti-

iterum te provocamus ut ferias; si angustiae veniant tempus petimus poenitentiae si misericordia subveniat abutimur patientia, quae pepercit; adhuc plaga illata vix praeterit etiam non recolit mens ingrata quod pertulit; si citius nos exaudias, ex misericordia insolescimus; si tardius ex impatientia murmuramus.

O Domine, volumus te servare quod feceris, non timemus negligere quod iusseris: habe Domine confitentes reos, parce quia pius es. Novimus quod nisi dimittas recte nos punias, sed apud te est multa miseratio et propitiatio per abundans, praesta sine merito quod rogamus qui fecisti qui te rogarent. Clamantibus autem ad te nobis, Domine, miserere.

Moveat pretatem tuam vox fidelis et flebilis, atque illa de qua totum speramus pietas non reputet quod offendimus dum respicit quod rogamus; et cum sit grandis miseria esse nos reos major ubi sit clementia erga nos *miseros*.

Erige nos, Domine, Deus noster, et alleva misericordia tua abet (?) communionem salutis et gaudium charitatis, dum ipsi salvari ex munere tuo cupimus etiam fide et pace cunctarum gentium gaudeamus. Per Dominum, etc.*

mus poenitendi; si misericordia venerit abutimur poenitentia ab misericordia.

Te volumus observare quod iusseris ac nolumus abaudire quod feceris. Habes, Domine, confitentes reos. Parce quia pius est quia tibi multa miseratio per abundat. Praesta, Domine, sine merito quod rogamus, qui fecisti ex nihilo qui rogarent. Quia proemia tribues, et peccatoribus veniam non negasti. Rogo inclite Pater. . . .

* Pope Urban VIII. indulgenced this, and added a short prayer to it. See prefaces to the Roman Breviary and Missal.

APPENDIX DD.

(See vol. i., p. 292.)

PENITENTIAL.

Of Bobio.

I. Si quis clericus homicidium fecerit et proximum suum x annos exsol poeniteat. Post hos recipiatur in patriam cui commisit satisfaciatur parentibus ejus quem occidit.*

II. Si quis ruina maxima ceciderit et filium genuerit vii. ann. poeniteat.

III. Si quis autem fornicaverit sicut Sodomitae fecerunt, x. annos poeniteat, tres in pane et aqua et nunquam cum alio dormiat.

6. Si quis perjuraverit septem annos poeniteat, 3 in pane et aqua et nunquam juret postea.

8. Si quis furtum fecerit capitale, quadrupedia vel casas fregerit poeniteat tres in pane.

IV. Si quis homicidium casu fecerit non volens, v. annos poeniteat, tres in pane et aqua.

V. Si quis ad homicidium consenserit, et non factum fuerit, 3 annos poeniteat, 2 in pane et aqua.

* Here we find a recognition of the *Eric*, so prevalent even in a late period in Ireland.

Of Columbanus, edited by Sirinus (Fleming, p. 95.)

3. Si quis clericus homicidium fecerit, et proximum suum occiderit decem annos exul poeniteat. Post hoc recipiatur in patriam si bene egerit poenitentiam. . . . Ut satisfaciatur parentibus ejus quem occidit.

Si quis ruina maxima ceciderit et filiam genuerit septem annis in aqua et pane poeniteat.

5. Si quis autem fornicaverit sicut Sodomitae fecerunt x. annos poeniteat, tribus in pane et aqua et non maneat cum alio in aeternum.

17. *Si quis perjuraverit, 7 annos poeniteat et nunquam juret postea.

19. Si quis clericus furtum fecerit bovem aut equum, . . . si hoc consuevit et redere non potest, 3 annos poeniteat, etc.

Secundum Cummeanum.

Si quis perjuraverit, tribus quadragesimis, cum pane et aqua poeniteat.—*Fleming*, p. 203.

Si quis homicidium casu fecerit non volens v. annos poeniteat.

Si quis ad homicidium consenserit, si voluerit et non potuerit, 3 annos.

* This is, taken from the "*Mensura taxanda*" of St. Columbanus.

Of Bobio.

X. Si quis maleficio suo aliquid fecerit et neminem perdiderit, 3 annos poeniteat.

XI. Si quis mulieri partum deceperit 6 quadragenas agat in pane.

IX. Si quis pediderit aliquid maleficio suo x. annos poeniteat.

XII. Si quis clericus vel superioris gradis qui habuit uxorem et post honorem iterum eam cognoverit, sciat se adulterium commississe. Clericus 4, diaconus 6, Sacerdos 7, Episcopus 12, singuli in pane et aqua.

XIV. Si quis vero propter concupiscentiam vel libidinem seipsum fornicaverit annum poeniteat.

XIV. Si quis concupiscit mulierem et non vult eam suscipere unum annum poeniteat.

XVIII. Si quis clericus vel uxor sua vel cujuscumque infantem oppresserit, 3 annos poeniteat, unum in pane.

XXI. Si quis usurus undecunque exegerit, 3 annos poeniteat, unum, etc.

XXIII. Si quis fecerit quod aruspices vocant, si per aves auguria colunt, vel ad divinationem eorum vadunt, poeniteat tres in pane et aqua, etc.

XXV. Si quis malo ordine cupidus aut avarus aut superbus aut tenebrosus? aut fratrem suum odio habuerit 3 annos poeniteat.

Ibid.

18. Si quis maleficio suo neminem perdiderit annum poeniteat in pane et aqua. . . .

Maxime si per hoc mulieres quisque deceperit: Ideo 6 quadragesimas insuper augeat.

Si quis aliquem perdiderit maleficio, tres in pane, tres alios annos poeniteat, 7mo anno, etc.

2. Si quis clericus aut diaconus vel alicujus gradus qui laicus fuit in saeculo cum filiis et filiabus post conversionem suam iterum suam cognoverit clientelam et filiam iterum de ea genuerit sciat se adulterium perpetrasse.

23. Si quis per se ipsum fornicaverit, si *gradum* habet, 3 annos poeniteat, sed laicus non susceptus a sponsa annum poeniteat.

30. Si quis laicus infantem suam oppresserit vel mulier, anno poeniteat in pane et aqua, et 2 alias abstineat a carnibus, etc.

Cap. VIII.

Si quis usuras undecunque exegerit, 4 annos poeniteat, unum in pane, etc.

Si quis colunt auguria per aves aut quocumque auguriaverunt 3 annos poeniteat.

(Of Cummean.)

Si quis cupidus, aut avarus, aut superbus, aut ebriosus, aut fratrem suum odio habebit, 3 annos poeniteat.

Of Bobio.

XXVI. Si quis sortes sanctorum contra rationem invocat, vel alias sortes habuerit.

XXVII. Si quis ad arbores vel ad fontes aut cancellos vel ubi cunque nisi in ecclesia, votum voverit aut solverit, 3 annos poeniteat.

XXXI. Si quis Kalendas Januarii in cervolo vel veicola vel vitula vadit, 3 annos poeniteat.

XLIII. Si quis sacrificium per negligentiam perdiderit, uno anno poeniteat.

XVII. Si per ebrietatem aut voracitatem illum vomerit, 3 quadragesimas in pane, etc. Si vere per infirmitatem una hebdomada in pane et aqua.

XLVII. Qui autem communicaverit conscius, 7 diebus poeniteat.

XLVI. Si autem Eucharistia ceciderit lingua sua lingat, si fuerit tabula radat. Si non fuerit, mittat tabulam ut non conculcetur. Sanguis Christi, 40, diebus: Si exegerit per linteum ad alium, 6 diebus in

*Of Cummean.**

Si quis ut vocant sortes sanctorum, quas contra rationem vel alias sortes habuerit. . . . 3 annos poeniteat.

Si quis ad arbores, et ad fontes . . . nisi ad Ecclesiam Dei vota voverit, 3 annos poeniteat.

Cap. VII.

Si quis Kalendas Januarii in cervulo et in verula vadit, 3 annos poeniteat.

Columbani.

6. Si quis ipsum sacrificium perdiderit, anno poeniteat.

24. Si per ebrietatem aut voracitatem illud evomuerit et negligenter illud dimiserit, 3 quadragesimas in pane, si vero per infirmitatem 7 diebus poeniteat.

Qui communicaverit sacrificium conscius, 7 diebus poeniteat.

Si vero per negligentiam de calice aliquid stillaverit lingua lambetur, tabula radatur: Si non fuerit tabula, ut non conculcetur, locus corrodatur, et igne consumatur.

Si super altare stillaverit

* Cummean Fota, the author of the Penitential, flourished, according to Ussher and Fleming, about the year 634, a few years after the death of St. Columbanus. The Penitential found in the Irish monastery of St. Gall, and published by Sirinus, is headed "Praefatio S. Cummeani Abbatis in Scotia orti super librum Penitentiarum," as if both (itself and St. Columbanus) formed only one Penitential, or flowed from the same source. Among the many proofs of its great antiquity may be noticed the canon on strangled meats. This canon was repealed in a council held so early as the year 772, under Pope Adrian.

Of Bobio.

pane poeniteat: Si ad tertiam 7 diebus, ita ut ponat calicem sub linteamine, effundat aquam tribus vicibus, etc.

XXVIII. Si quis clericus post quam se Deo voverit, iterum ad seculum reversus fuerit, vel uxorem duxerit 12 annos poeniteat. 6 in pane aqua, et nunquam in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerint, sancta Sedes Apostolica separavit eos a communione sanctorum. Similiter et mulier post quam se Deo vovit et tale scelus admisit, similiter faciat.

XXXI. Si quis servum vel qualemcunque hominem in captivatem duxerit, unam in pane poeniteat.

XLVII. Si quis titubaverit super oratione dominica die uno pane et aqua poeniteat.

XXIX. Qui pruritu voluntatis fluvium seminis et per somnum pollutus peccaverit, surgat et oret ad Deum, cantet 7 psalmis, et die illo in pane et aqua vivat, et iterum canat 30 psalmis in cruce.

Of Cummean.

calix, et super unum linteum aliud. 7 diebus. Si usque ad tertiam 8 diebus, si usque ad quartam 15 diebus. . . . Per tres abluat vices calice subterposita.

III. Si quis clericus aut monachus postquam se voverit Deo reversurus fuerit ad seculum, vel uxorem duxerit, 10 annos poeniteat, 3 in aqua et pane et nunquam in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerit, sancta synodus vel Sedes Apostolica eos separent a communione et coitu Catholicorum. Similiter mulier faciat, si tale scelus admisit.

Cap. III.

Si quis intrat ad ancillam suam voenumdet illam, poeniteat anno.

Cap XIII.

Si titubaverit sacerdos super oratione Dominica, quae dicitur periculosa, poeniteat, etc.*

Qui in somnis voluntate pollutus est surgat canat que genuflectendo septem psalmos, in crastino cum pane et aqua vel triginta psalmos genuflectendo in finem.

* In reference to the *Dangerous Prayer*, the same term is found applied to the Canon of the Mass, and after the Consecration, in an old Irish treatise.—(Vid. ch. ix., p. 176.) In the life of St. Ciaran, of Clonmacnoise, who died about the year 580, it is stated that when other saints fasted for him, and when the approach of death was announced to him by an angel, he repeated the *Dangerous Prayer*:—"Ciaran moir mac mtepaor no chan mephaighcheirea intan ropiacht cocpichad bair do pl."—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 95.

The Penitential of Columbanus visited coughing or stuttering while the Lord's Prayer was being said with six lashes. From the punishment, corporal or spiritual, with which it was thought fit that disrespect to the prayer should be visited, it became known as the dangerous prayer.

APPENDIX EE.

(See vol. i., p. 217.)

Mass of SS. Patrick and Columbanus.

FROM THE BOBIO MISSAL.

Lectio libri Danihel Prophetæ in Cotidiana legenda.

In tempore autem illo emsurgit Michael princeps magnus, qui stat pro filiis populi tui, et veniet tempus quale non fuit ab eo quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad tempus illud. Et in tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus omnis qui inventus fuerit in libro scriptus: et multi de his dormiunt in terræ pulvere evigilabunt; alii in vitam eternam, et alii in obprobrium ut videant semper. Qui autem docti fuerint fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti; et qui ad justiciam erudiunt plurimos quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates, ait Dominus Deus.

Epistola Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios.

Fratres, qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur. Non enim qui seipsum commendat, ille probatus est, sed quem Dominus commendaverit. Utinam sustineretis modicum quid insipientiæ mei. Æmulor vos Dei enmulatione in Christo Jesu.

Lectio Sancti Evangelii Secundum Lucam.

In tempore illo dixit Dominus Jesus discipulis suis. Adtendite vos ne forte gravarentur corda vestra in crapola et ebrietate,

curis hujus vitæ; et superveniat in vos repentina dies illa tanquam fur. Laqueus enim superveniet in omnes qui sedent super faciem orbis terræ. Vigilate itaque omni tempore orantes, ut digni habeamini fugire ista omniæ qua futura sunt, et stare ante filium hominis. Erat autem diebus docens in templo, noctibus vero exiens morabatur in monte qui vocatur Oliveti, et omnis populus magnificabatur Deum.

Missæ Romensis Cottidiana.

Deus qui beato Petro Apostolo tuo conlatis clavibus regni coelestis, animas ligandi atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti: suscipe propicius preces nostras, et intercessionem ejus quaesumus, Domine, auxilium ut a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur.

Collectio.

Deus qui culpa offenderis, poenitentia placaris, afflictorum gemitus respice, et mala quæ juste inrogas misericorditer averte.

Post Nomina.

Oblata, Domine, munera sanctifica, nos quæ a peccatorum nostrorum maculis cinunda.

Ad Pacem.

Grata sit tibi, Domine, haec oblatio plebis tuae quam tibi offerimus in honore nominis tui ut cunctis proficiat ad salutem.

Contestatio.

Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeternae Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Coeli coelorum que virtutes ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplice confessione dicentes, Sanctus.

Te igitur clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus et petimus, uti acceptum habeas et benedicas ✠ haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia inlibata.

In primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, adunare, et regere digneris totum orbem terrarum, una cum devotissimo famulo tuo (ill) Papa Nostro, sedis apostolicae et Antestite nostro, et omnibus orthodoxis fidei cultoribus.

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularum que tuarum, et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suis que omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae, tibi

reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vivo et vero.

Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes (*dicitur in nativitate Domini*) in quo incontaminata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorum Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (*dicitur in Sancto Pascha*: et diem sacratissimum celebrantes resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi filii). Sed et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatissimorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreae, Jacobi, Johannis Thomae, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholemaei, Matthaee, Simonis, et Thadaei, Lini Cliti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornili, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Diamiani, Hilarii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Benedicti, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, qui per universam mundum passi sunt propter nomen tuum, Domine, seu confessoribus tuis quorum meritis precibus que concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus in honorem nominis tui, Deus, quaesumus Domine ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum Jubeas grege numerari per Christum Dominum nostrum.

✠ Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quaesumus benedic-

tam ✠ adscriptam ✠, gratam rationabilem, acceptabilem que facere digneris quae, nobis ✠ corpus ✠ et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas,* ac venerabiles manus suas et elevatis oculis suis in coelum, ad te Deum Patrem suum Omnipotentem, gratias agens, benedixit ✠ fregit, dedit que discipulis suis dicens; accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam coenatum est, accepit et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas; item tibi gratias agens benedixit ✠ dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effunditur in remissione peccatorum. Haec quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui domini nostri, tam beatæ passionis, nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in coelos gloriosae ascensionis offerimus, praeclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis ✠ hostiam sanctam ✠ hostiam immaculatam ✠ panem sanctum vitæ aeternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propicio ac sereno vultu aspicere dignare

et acceptum habere sicuti acceptum habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justî Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi optulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altaris tui in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ; ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione celesti et gratia repleamur, per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Memento etiam Domine et eorum nomina qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormunt in somno pacis (commemoratio defunctorum).

Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis, et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam societatis donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, cum Johanne, Stefano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignacio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Perpetua, Agne, Cicilia, Felicitate, Anastasia, Agathe, Lucia, Eogenia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium non stimator meriti, sed veniæ quaesumus, largitor admittite, per Christum Dominum nostrum.

* This is coloured with vermilion.

Per quem haec omnia, Domine semper bona creas, ✠ sanctificas ✠ vivificas, ✠ benedicis et praestas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso, et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti Omnis honor et gloria, per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione audemus dicere. Pater, etc.

Post Pater Noster.

Libera nos, Domine, ab omni malo, praeterito, praesenti. et futuro, et intercedente pro nobis beata et gloriosa semper que Virgine Maria, et beatis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, da propicius pacem tuam in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi.

Post Communionem.

Quos coelesti, Domine, dono, saciasti, praesta, quaesumus, ut a nostris mundemur occultis et ab hostium liberemur insidiis.

Consummatio Missae.

Gratias tibi agimus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, qui nos corporis. et sanguinis Christi Filii tui communionem saciasti, tuam que misericordiam humiliter postulam; ut hoc tuum, Domine, sacramentum non sit nobis reatus ad poenam, sed intercessio salutaris ad veniam, sit ablutio scelerum, sit fortitudo fragilium, sit contra mundi pericola firmamentum. Haec nos, Domine, communio purget a crimine, et coelestis gaudii tribuat esse participes. Per, etc.

Dicitur post "Aïos."

Tu summe Deus, aïos, ipse sanctus, omnipotens Sabaoth, qui venisti ab excelsis pati pro nobis, miserere nobis tu trinae potentiae, Pater inclite, qui maenia excellentissima Hierusalem divinis ornas lapidibus, et ejus agmina sanctorum sanguine pingi; libera nos tuo valido brachio, et salva nos per auxiliatricem dexteram tuam, et defende in nobis precium preciosi sanguinis tui, quos redemisti. Per, etc.

*Gloria ad Missam decantanda.**

Deus, cui merito et in excelsis et in terra utriusque loci incolis gloria decantatur: qui pacem tuam non in malibolis, sed in hominibus bonae volluntatis esse testaris; te orantes laudamus; tibi que agentes gratias supplicamus, ut qui in te suscipiens mundi peccata, purgata delesti, suscipias ex dono tuo tibi placita et ampotes prava desideria nostra simul que praesta, ut praesentem diem te protegente, sine peccato transigere mereamur.

Item alia.

Deus cui merito et angeli in coelis et homines in terra debito famolato conlaudant: cujus sanctum nomen super omne nomen exaltatum fidele exultatione concelebrant praesta nobis famolis tuis, effectu tibi bonorum operum propinquare, te que simul et voce laudare tuam

* It is precisely as our present *Gloria*.

que misericordiam rectis actibus impetrare; ut universus tui populus qui Angelos tuos aequiperare confitendo, sectari quoque studeat imitando.

*Oratio Post Prece[m].**

Miserere, Domine Deus Omnipotens, qui discipulis tuis spiritum sanctum dedisti, vel per Evangelistarum tuorum omnes docuisti etiam omnibus nobis per baptismum indulgentiam tribuisti, et omnes credentium nomen sanctum tuum de inferna redemisti. Per, etc.

Item post prece[m].

Domine, preces populi tui placatus exaudi, universis quae postulent tribue, et singulis quae sunt oportuna concede. Crescat in eorum sensibus devotio tibi in omnibus placita, qualiter a te beneficia obtineant oportuna. Per, etc.

Item alia.

Domine Deus, qui populis tuis et juste irasceris, et cle-

* The prayer after the *Gloria*.

menter ignoscis, inclina aurem tuam supplicationibus nostris, ut qui totis sensibus confitemur, non iudicium tuum, sed indulgentiam consequamur.

Collectio post Aios.

Judicia tua, Deus, comprehendere non valemus: nimis profundae factae sunt cogitationes tuae, quis investigaverit eas? Concede nobis, piissime Pater ut (te) timeamus quia bonus es, sperantes in misericordia tua. Tu enim dixisti: Nolo mortem peccatoris. Tantum adjutor esto reverentibus ut vivamus.

*Oratio post Benedictionem.**

Deus qui tribus pueris in camino ignis mitigasti flammam incendii, concede quaesumus ut nos famulos tuos non urat flamma vitiorum. Per, etc.

* *The Canticle of the Three Youths*. This ends the Columbian Mass, and none of it but the Canon is repeated in the succeeding Masses.

APPENDIX EF.

(See vol. i., p. 227.)

ON THE CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH.

The following is a specimen of a very old Irish piece on the above subject. Having given the original in its archaic, con-

tracted form, I reproduce it with contractions expanded. This specimen, however, is free from the 17 or 18 lacunes in

other parts of the piece, which added to the difficulty of unlocking its meaning:—

“*Ir hi i. u. ed. p. fapap apy altoip .i. coirecb ichoilig v. op. i libno epircopi. Ir hi i. vi. ed. p. apap apy altoip .i. coirecb coitcenb fil ipi lib. ep. p. ri altoip conahuilib aibmib ialle.*

γ δο ρνω ιτεpp δαρων ερωιp ιpυ capup apϑh. δερctach ipi ρlip andepf γ appei οι up. coirecbpa.”

In an expanded form:—

“*Ir hi in cuiced ρobla, fapap apy altoip, ιδ epϑ, coirecbad in choilig quincta opatio in libno epircopi. Ir hi in ppead ρobla apap apy altoip conahuilib aibmib imalle.*

αζup δο ρopni ιτεppoc con-

apion epoiip ipon capup apϑher δercumtach ipon ρlip* andep αζup appei οin upque choirecapϑha.”

* *Leabhar Breac*, p. 278, col. 1, 14th line from the end.

The word ρlip occurs five times in the form of consecration. It generally means a board or beetle, and this meaning I have given to it in the text; but it can mean also a side. Reference is made to it in order to point out the spot where certain prayers or ceremonies are gone through. That ρlip can be synonymous with coeb appears from the *Leabhar Breac* (p. 1, col. 1.; p. 2, col. 2.; p. 163, col. 2). See vol. i., p. 228.

APPENDIX FF.

(See vol. i., p. 282.)

PAPA INNOC. III. AD ARCHIEPISCOPOS ARMACH. ET CASSEL.
CIRCA 1170.

Cum olim D. Clericus (celestino papae praedecessori nostro, diversis Praelatorum Hiberniae literis praesentatis) se assereret in Episcopum fuisse Roscensem electum, nullusque appareret, qui aliquid contra eum proponeret; dictus Prae. n. ei munus fecit consecrationis impendi.

Postmodum F. et G. Monachi ad ejusdem Prae. n. praesen-

tiam accedentes, uterque se asserunt a Canonicis Roscen. Ecclesiae fuisse electum; et quod praedictus D. per falsas literas consecratus; propter quod idem Prae (decessor) n (oster) causam vobis sub ea forma commisit, ut de forma et processu electionis memorati D. sollicite quaereretis; et si electum canonicè fuisse constaret,

ipsum faceretis pacifica possessione gaudere; alioquin inter praedictos F. et G. audieretis causam; et cujus electionem canonicam et magis rationabiliter factam inveniretis alterius electioni curaretis praeferre. Ac tu frater Cassalen, alterum illorum quem rationabiliter duceres confirmandum, in Episcopum consecrasses. Unde sicut ex literis vestris accepimus, cum dictae commissionis vobis fuissent literae praesentatae, juxta tenorem earum primo de electione praedicti D. inquirere voluistis. Cum que a vobis dictus D. tertio citatus vestro se nollet conspectui praesentare, procedentes in causa, tam ex testimonio cleri et populi Roscensis Ecclesiae, quam ex assertionem regis Corcayae, et praelatorum Provinciae, de praedicto F. electionem fuisse celebratam canonicè didicistis, et eam curastis auc. Apost. confirmare, praesertim cum Capitulum Roscensis Ecclesiae dictum se non elegisse constanter assereret, nec de praedicti G. Monachi electione aliquatenus cogitasse. Iterim Memoratus D. ad Apostolicam Sedem accedens super quibusdam aliis gravaminibus et injuriis contra dicum F. et quosdam alios literas impetra-

vit, dictus F. postmodum ex parte vestra nobis literas praesentavit, quae qualiter a vobis in commissione praedicta processum fuerat, continebant: Volentes igitur adhuc misericorditer agere cum absente, ut ejus malitia vincatur, dictum F. ad vos duximus remittendum, mandantes, quatenus non obstante, quod ejusdem F. fuit electio confirmata, saepedictum D. si in Hibernia poterit inveniri, legitime citatis ad causam, et facultate sibi defensionis indulta, in causa ipsa canonicè procedatis. Qui si inventus, intra tres menses vestro se conspectui contempserit praesentare, ad consecrationem dicti F. omni occasione postposita procedatis. Si autem in Hibernia non inventus fuerit, indulto sibi unius anni spatio ex quo ad nos, etsi non verbo, facto tamen intelligitur provocasse, arrepto itinere ad Sed. Apost. veniendi, dicto F. administrationem Roscensis Ecclesiae in spiritualibus et temporalibus committatis: quo elapso, eum in Episcopum non differatis consecrare.—From the Decretals of Gregory IX., Part II. (*Corpus Juris Canonice*), Lib. II., Tit. 13-14., *de dolo et Contumacia*.

APPENDIX FF. II.

(See vol. i., p. 282.)

INNOCENTIUS III. ANNO 1210. ROMA IN HIBERNIAM. AD EPIS.
LAON. ET CALA ABB.

Dilectus filius G. Imilien.
Canonicus nostro dudum apos-

tolatui reseravit, quod Humiliensi (sic) Ecclesia suo viduata

Pastore, Canonici ipsum unanimiter elegerunt; qui cum esset citra sacros ordines constitutus, Archiepiscopus Cassalensis Metropolitanus eorum Episcopo Trecenti. (Rossensi secundum alios) mandavit, ut uno et eodem die ad tres sacros Ordines promoveret; quod ille (non ausu proprio, sed ipsius Archiepiscopi mandato) perfecit. Cum ergo nobis constituerit supradictum Episcopum in pluribus deliquisse, tum quia sine mandato Archiepiscopi (ut ipsi confessus extitit) ad hujusmodi ordinationem inordinate processit; tum quia si

de mandato Archiepiscopi constaret, cum illi hujusmodi dispensatio a canone minime sit permissa, ipse obtemperare non debuit in hac parte; tum etiam quia reatum perjurii saepius variavit, jurando prius quod Archiepiscopus id praeceperat, et postea quod illud non mandaverit in judicio confitendo, ipsum tamdiu ab ordinandi suspendimus facultate, donec nostram meruerit gratiam obtinere. —Part II., *Decretals*, Greg. IX., Liber I., Tit. xi., xii., xiii., xiv. *De aetate et qualitate et ordine Praejiendorum.*

APPENDIX GG.

(See vol. i., p. 293.)

“Inquisition taken on July 5th, 1245, of the lands of Roscrea, by twelve jurors, who found that in times past Murchertach O’Brien ravaged the lands of Heremon and Hely O’Carroll, levelled 5 castles, whereupon the King’s forces and Council in Ireland assembled to expel Murchertach. The lands were at that time in the hands of Cornelius O’Heney, Bishop of Killaloe, belonging to the bishopric. The King’s Council began fortifying the castle in the town of Roscrea by erecting a moat and wooden tower. Meanwhile Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, from England, justiciary, repaired by King John’s direction to the

town. Hearing this, the Bishop Cornelius came thither, and prohibited a castle or any fortification from being constructed in his ecclesiastical possessions, and said that if they proceeded further he should excommunicate them. Thereupon the justiciary prayed the bishop, on behalf of the King, that they might be allowed to fortify the moat until the termination of the war, undertaking that he should get the town and its appurtenances, or the just value. The bishop consented. The lands are worth annually 35 marks of silver.”—*Inquisition*, P. M. 29, Henry III., No. 43. *Sweetman.*

APPENDIX HH.

(See vol. i., p. 296.)

FROM THE "CREDE MIHI," FOL. 101.

Encroachments on Ecclesiastical Immunities.

Ottobonus Apostolicae Sedis delegatus, venerabilibus in Christo fratribus Lismorensi et Waterfordiensi Episcopis salutem.

. . . Venerabilis pater Dublinensis Archiepiscopus exhibuit questionem, quod licet proventus ecclesiarum civitatis Dublin. in oblationibus fidelium pro majori parte consistent, quas ejusdem homines utriusque sexus, diebus dominicis et festivis decimarum nomine, ae alias in benedictionibus nubentium et puerperarum purificationibus cum decenti et numerosa comitiva, juxta singulorum beneplacitum in ecclesiis offerre consueverant, de antiqua et approbata et hactenus pacifice observata prae devotione fidelium introducta. Major tamen et cives Dublin. suae salutis immemores non sine fermento haereticae pravitatis sub certa poena statuere presumpserunt ut nullus civis nisi quater in anno presumat offerre; nubentium et puerperarum praedictarum comitive numerum usque ad binariam restringentes. Cereos etiam et candelas quos hi qui cum funeribus decedentium sepelienda ad ecclesias deferre, quosque in exequiis et anniversariis eorundem devote ab amicis pro salute animarum

decedentium offerre consueverunt, reportandos fore ad eorum hospitia decreverunt, duobus duntaxat cereis Ecclesiae in cuius cemeteris decedentis funus tumulatur relictis.

Publicas insuper poenitentias non iudicio ecclesiae sed arbitrio eorum arcendas seu mitigandas esse dicentes. Presumptione damnabili quod nullus praelatus de usuraria pravitare, vel alio quovis crimine vel alia causa quacunque cognoscere valeat, causis matrimonialibus et testamentariis tantum exceptis.

Quod que de bonis eorum qui intestati decedunt se aliquatenus intromittat sed fisco bona huiusmodi applicentur.

Nullus etiam civis super aliqua actione spectante ad forum ecclesiasticum extra civitatem ipsam ad iudicium trahi possit.

. . . Propter quod dictus Archiepiscopus in dictum majorem et quosdam cives alios nominatim, quia diligenter ab eo moniti a presumptione huiusmodi desistere non curarunt, executionis et in civitatem ipsam interdicti sententias exigente justitia auctoritate ordinare promulgarit, quas idem Archiepiscopus nostro petiit munimine roborari.

Nos igitur . . . Mandamus

quatenus dictos Majorem et cives in locis publicis, civitatis et provinciae Dublin., et in aliis in quibus expedire videritis singulis diebus Dominicis et festivis, pulsatis companis, accensis candelis, solemniter ex-

communicatos denunciatis usque ad satisfactionem condignam. Datum Londini, 11 Kalendas Martii, Pontificatus Domini Clementis Papae IV., anno tertio.

APPENDIX HH. II.

(See vol. i., p. 296.)

Agreement between Abp. of Dublin and citizens, on Sunday, the day after "the Chair of Peter," 9th of Henry, 1224, before Galfrid de Marisco, Walter de Lacy, and others:—

"Predicti homines Archipi et clericorum suorum auxilientur cum ipsis civibus, cum de mandato domini regis speciale aliquid fit taillogium vel auxilium, et hoc fiat per visum baillivi Archiepiscopi et per ejus baillivum, si necesse fuerit ad solutionem tailliagii vel auxilii distrinquatur. Si autem cives ipsi de firma sua forte perdiderint, dicti homines archiepiscopi et clericorum suorum ad illud damnum restaurandam non taillentur nec auxilientur.

"Conceditur etiam eisdem civibus ut curiam suam habeant de terris, de caetero, eidem Archiepiscopo et clericis suis dandis sinendis vel delegandis, salva seisina curiae et terrarum in omnibus ipsi archiepiscopo et successoribus suis de quibus ceisitus fuit die confectionis huius syrographi.

"Conceditur etiam quod si homines Archiepiscopi et clericorum suorum in terris praedictis manentes infra civitatem attachientur pro aliquo delicto, non debent implacitari infra quatuor dies post attachmentem sive hundredus fuit infra ipsos quatuor dies sive non; et tunc idem archiepiscopus habeat curiam suam si rationabiliter petita fuit.

"Eodem modo si quis de hominibus civitatis infra libertatem archiepiscopi per baillivos ipsius attachiatus fuit non implacitetur infra quatuor dies sequentes post attachmentem, sive curia Archiepiscopi infra ipsos quatuor dies teneatur sive non; et tunc cives curiam suam habeant si petita fuerit rationabiliter.

"Item si laici inhabitaverint terras a clericis aliquo dictorum modorum adquisitas cives habeant illud quod ante acquisitionem in ipsis terris habuerint, quamdiu laici ipsas inhabitaverint. Ipsi autem cives neminem poterunt namiare vel attachiare in domibus clericorum

nisi propter furtum vel homicidium.

“Conceditur etiam quod cives habeant justiciam de pistoribus terrae archiepiscopi qui convicti fuerint in foro civitatis de falso pane. Ita quod baillivus ipsius

Archiepiscopi sit in ipso hundredo ad videndum quod *juste* tractentur et judicentur.’

* From the *Crede Mihi* and the *White Book*.

APPENDIX II.

(See vol. i., p. 322.)

An agreement between the Archbishop of Dublin and citizens, ordained by the justiciary and others, in 1268.

“ . . . Videlicet si accidisset quod aliquis peccasset et peccatum publicum fuisset, primo satisfaciet pro peccato tuo pro aliqua pecunie summa.

“ Si secundo . . . quod tunc fustigetur circa ecclesiam.

“ Si tertio . . . quod fustigetur aliqua die solemniter coram processione apud Sanctam Trinitatem vel apud Sanctum Patricium.

“ Et si iterato adhaeret peccato suo quod officialis pro tempore denunciaret Majori de peccato suo ita quod ex tunc extra civitatem amoveatur. Provisum fuit similiter coram supradictis . . . quod semel in anno generalis inquisitio per civitatem capietur, et hoc de peccatis publicis et manifestis, et si magna necessitas fuisset quod iterato hujusmodi inquisitio capietur et non plus.”

White Book, fol. 49.

APPENDIX J J.

(See vol. i., p. 328.)

Pope Urban, on the 15th of the Kalends of April, 1260, wrote to the Abbot of the Cistercian Order in Ferns, and to the Prior of Athassel, in Cashel, on the complaint made by the Archbishop of Dublin, on the withdrawal of causes from the ecclesiastical courts :—

“ . . . De transgressione quorum fidei et perjurio, de decimis vel usuris, ac jure patronatus apud ipsum archiepiscopum ad quem inter subditos suos de jure ac consuetudine horum pertinere judicium nemo ambigit, vetant pro libito judicari.

“Praeterea cum processisse dicatur regiae prohibitionis edictum ne causae pecuniariae ad Christianitatis curiam deferantur, ipso pro libito ejusdem fines edicti pretendunt ad quamlibet pecuniariam causam quam per laicum vel clericum contra personas ecclesiasticas moveri contigit, nisi forte pecunia de qua agitur sit *testamentaria* vel *dotalis*. . . . Quinimo si quis eorumdem litigantium excommunicationis vinculo, exigente justitia, innodatus ab eis regiam prohibitionem oportet non solum eosdem archiepiscopum, officiales, et commissarios ejus cognitioni causarum hujusmodi supersedere compellant.

“Justiciarii et consilarii memorati, sed quod est absolum, sic ligatum denunciant hoc ipso publice absolutum, quod si propter hoc vel alia de causa, ipsi eosdem Archiepiscopum, officiales. . . . predicatarum civitatis et dioecesis obnoxios sibi esse vel contra ipsos aliquid questionis se habere proponant ecclesiarum suarum bona auctoritate propria ex arupto sequestrant et detinent tam diu etiam sequestrata, donec ipsorum per omnia voluntati paruerint, et mandato his et aliis diversis modis ac perversis motibus libertatem ecclesiasticam violando.

“Quocirca discretioni vestrae per Apostolica scripta . . . per censuarum ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, ratione previa compellatis.

“Datum Anagninae, xv. Kalendaris, Aprilis, Pontificatus, anno sexto.”

From the “Crede Mihi,” fol. 84.

In the year 1261, he wrote again to the following effect :—

“Urbanus servus . . . carissimo in Christo filio regi, etc.

“Sane ad audientiam apolatus nostri pervenit, quod in civitate diocesi et provincia Dubliniensis, de antiqua et approbata et hactenus, pacifice observata consuetudine est obtentum ut venerabiles fratres nostri Dubliniensis Episcopus ac alii judices ecclesiastici earundem civitatis et diocesis et provinciae ad quos de hujusmodi consuetudine causarum cognitio pertinet, de causis quas super pecuniarum summis seu possessionibus inter laicos sibi subditos verti contigit possint cognoscere, dummodo pactum firmatum *fide* vel *juramento* intervenerit inter partes.

“Et si aliquis laicus conqueritur coram illis quod quisquam laicus eorum subditorum ipsum super aliquo crimine defamaverit, eidem super hoc de hujusmodi consuetudine judicant et cognoscunt.

“Clerici quorum injuratores suos laicos consueverunt a tempore cujus memoria non existit, coram ecclesiasticis iudicibus convenire, sed justiciarii et ballivi tui in Hibernia, quominus archiepiscopus, suffraganei officiales, et judices predicti de hujusmodi causis cognoscant et judicant contra justitiam impedire presumunt. Prohibentes quod nequius est, ne clerici clericos in causis pecuniariis aut ecclesiarum rectores super aliquibus capellis ad ecclesias ipsas spectantibus,

aut super decimis aliarum ecclesiarum rectores coram iudice ecclesiastico convenire possunt.

“Iidem etiam iusticiarii et ballivi non permittunt quod condemnati legitime per archiepiscopum, suffraganeos et alios predictos aut alios iudices etiam a Sede Apostolica delegatos super contumaciam vel offensam in aliqua pecunie quantitate ad solvendum condemnationem huiusmodi compellantur. Sive quod Archiepiscopus, suffraganei, vel alii predicti cognoscant de causis usurariis vel puniant de usuris, adulteriis, aut aliis omnibus inquirant secundum canonica instituta, prout ad eorum officium noscitur pertinere de iure ac consuetudine.

“Porro si inter virum et uxorem per ecclesiasticam iudicem celebrato divortio coram eo super dote restituenda questionem oriri contingat predicti iusticiarii ne dictus iudex virum ad restituendam dotem mulieri compellat prohibent pro suae libito voluntatis quantum cognitionem causarum huiusmodi ad ecclesiasticum iudicem pertinere noscitur tam de huiusmodi consuetudine quam de iure. Praeterea si aliqui cives vel burgenses in aliqua civitate aliquam domum vel fundum ad eos pertinentes, qui burgasia vulgariter appellatur alicui ecclesiae sive loco religioso, in ultima voluntate legant praefati iusticiarii et ballivi ne iudex ecclesiasticus executores testamentorum civitum eorumdem ad exequendam in hac parte voluntatem testamentorum ipsorum compellat, prout

de praefata consuetudine est obtentum, impediunt minime iuste. Ceterum si aliqui laici adscripti glebae qui betajii appellantur aliqua de bonis suis ecclesiasticis vel religioni aut piis locis legant, pietatis intuitu, in ultima voluntate, supra dicti iusticiarii impediunt ne per ipsos archiepiscopos sicut de praefata consuetudine obtentum fuit, in hoc voluntas testatoris executioni mandetur. Ad haec si dicto Archiepiscopo inhibeas ne alterius procedat in aliqua causa de qua cognoscere inceperint. iidem iusticiarii istos pro eo quod de causa ipsa inceperunt cognoscere, et si huiusmodi inhibitioni perversiter puniri presumunt poena pecuniaria et interdum carceri mancipare.

“Insuper prelibati iusticiarii archiepiscopum, suffraganeos, si per inquisitionem factam super hoc contra eos constiterit, quod ipsi cognoverint de aliquibus causis quae non fuerint matrimoniales et testamentariae, pecuniaria poena mulctare et interdum eosdem incarcerare presumunt.

“Quod si aliquem iudicem ecclesiasticum occasione alicujus questionis quae vertitur coram contingat in aliquem laicum exigente iusticia, excommunicationis sententiam promulgare, laicus ipse eidem iudici per dictos iusticiarios inhibere procurat ne in huiusmodi causa procedat. Post inhibitionem autem huiusmodi dictus laicus non vitatur tanquam excommunicatus, prohibentibus id predictis iusticiariis. Cum igitur regalem magnificentiam

in suis libertatibus et antiquis consuetudinibus foveamur libenter, et quanto cum Deo possumus, toleremus, quia Deo et nobis pari vice respondere te convenit, serenitatem regiam rogandam duximus quatenus praedictos justiciarios a violatione libertatis ecclesiasticae nec non ab usurpatione jurium divinorum, praecipue in praemissis, ad quorum tutelam Distributor regnorum omnium temporali gladio te accinxit ac molestiis personarum ecclesiasticarum regali auctoritate compescas.

“ . . . Et quia timemus ne tu nisi corrigas haec nos que tecum si illa dissimulamus incorrecta in durius severitatis divinae judicium incidamur, dilectis filiis . . . per nostras damus litteras ut si est ita justiciarios, quod archiepiscopum suffraganeos que et iudices supradictos de praefatis causis libere cognoscere, et eas exequi patiantur prout de jure eis competit . . . monitione praemissa

per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota compellat.

“ Datum Viterbii, 11 Idus Nov., Pontificatus nostri anno primo.”

By the same post, the Pope wrote to the Bishop of Dromore and to the Prior of the Dominicans in Drogheda to the same effect. He wound up by giving full powers of excommunication :—

“ Non obstante si eis a Sede Apostolica sit indultum quod excommunicari vel eorum terra interdicto supponi aut extra vel ultra certum locum ad judicium evocari non possint, per litteras Apostolicas. . . .

“ Proviso ne in praedictae vel alicujus alterius dictae provinciae civitatum vel loci universitatem excommunicationis vel interdicti sententiam proferatis nisi a nobis super hoc mandatum receperitis speciale. Quod si non ambo his exequendis potueritis interesse, altervestrum ea nihilominus exequatur.”

APPENDIX J J. II.

FROM ALAN'S REGISTRY, FOL. 63.

The following is the result of an inquisition taken at Castle-dermot in 1264 :—

“ Quod jurati dicunt quod Lucas Dublini Archiepiscopus predecessor praedicti Fulconis habuit et placitavit in curia sua placita corone ut de morte, murdro, interfectione Anglicorum et omnium aliorum; de

terra et feloniis,* abjuracione fugitivorum ad ecclesiam in terra Archiepiscopatus Dublin.

* We meet with the phrases, “ *Abjurare tenementum* ” (fol. 91) *abjuraverunt terram* (61).—*Vid.* vol. i., p. 225.

de redemptione capienda pro felonia facta ibidem; de pace felonibus danda, de felonibus weyviandis et ut lagandis, et de terris eorum anno et die habendis, et eidem archiepiscopo, et aliis de quibus terrae ille tente fuerunt, appropriandis post annum et diem, de submersis Anglicis et omnibus aliis per infortunium mortuis; sine coronatore domini regis, videndis et sepeliendis per ballivos ipsius Archiepiscopi, Luce, qui omnia placita coronae in curia sua placitavit, exceptis *forestallo, raptu mulierum, thesauro invento et incendio*. . . :

“Et dicunt quod servientes domini regis venerunt et venire consueverunt ad mansionem

dicti Archiepiscopi de sancto sepulchro, pro summonicionibus, destructionibus et attachiamentis baillivis dicti Archiepiscopi executionem summonicionum que per ballivos ipsius archiepiscopi ad denunciationem servientum domini regis facta fuerunt. . . . Et dicunt quod dictus Archiepiscopus Lucas ratione ecclesiae suae Dublin., de dictis placitis corone et libertatibus obiit seizatus. Et dicunt quod dictus Fulco nullam inde fecit purpresturam, sed eisdem placitis coronae et libertatibus usus est, sicut dictus Lucas predecessor suus.”—*Alan's Registry*, fol. 63, etc.

APPENDIX KK.

(See vol. ii., p. 50.)

FROM THE “LEABHAR MOR DUNA DOIGHRE,” p. 199.

Aurum offerre qui in patientia dñi fulget. Uair idpripd innór do dia inncti dia-foillríg dia ecna aqur ochar-mnaizid do chech maforcedul amail ipinfeiprptuir diaba. Unum et moyrica laetificat cor hominir, aqur ruper. Ut aqua dilectio sapientie .i. Cid mor failtuzic cuil aqur Coibleba meainman in duine ip mou co mor failtuziger in decna diaba. Tur offerre domino qui orationem mundam facit. Ut dicitur.

Eppraid dñi túir donchoim-did inncti noraiccheid ocríde glan inaepnaighce, ut dicitur in psalm. Uirizatur O. mea picut incensum conppectu tuo, domine. Roathapena inepnaighce cobsprech chucar adé amail diaid thupr adantap inebpraidic duic. Mippam offerre qui carnur vicia mortificat. Eppraidem in moral bon choimdid inncti tpethur dualchi acoluna epia abreanait. Amail atberp in captal. Mortificatō mem-

bpa verera qua sicut puppa
.i. tpecheð bap colainð tpa
afne conepbalat on mudrain
ahacobbpa. Naborid tanca-
tarp do abpaib epiorc con-
daimib examla moeraib ex-
amla, .i. Oclach agur moet-
hoclach agur penoir. ipreb
do fornet pin iarbbercraib
conid ip techta dun conopoz-
nam do dia in cech asr agur
cum aedppam do nabana loz-
mara .i. deizimrad agur deiz-
briara agur deizgneim. Dep
aliam viam peverri sunt in
regonem puam. Oochuatar
naborid iar. pin do cum atipe
ipreb d. p pin iarbbercraib
nahipecehu impait ofeipc
indomainrea for ab aipcin-
dech* diabul conimchiget

* From this we can see that
aircendach can mean a wicked

iar .p. diprech naripem atoil
de. .i. ep. Uair ipaimm do
cipr. amail atbert pen. Ezo
rum via, veritar et vita. Ipe
ro in p. Uair ipiarma ata
penait naripceoin dianathar
pen. .i. don plaitn nemda.
Ppinde din he. Uair ip brec
cech math ipur ipesud nama-
chitidnaicthaduadrum thall.
Do naripinaib beto* moiprio
he uair pedlizec na noib accu
ipna hinataib pin cenair, cen
forcend, cenercra.

despot as well as legitimate
superior.—See vol. i., p. 91,
note.

* The usual, if not the most
correct form, is *beta*.

APPENDIX LL.

(See vol. ii., p. 55.)

On Fasting.

FROM THE "LEABHAR MOR DUNA DOIGHRE," P. 258, COL. 1.

Ip tpa afne din potmill
epau appimgentecht. Copur-
pacc ppa abpataip .i. pe
hiacop arm epuibechn
mbecc itchonnapc aice. Ip
tpa afne din thomailt mbid
hitiz mtræab mpatth tarpa-
rugud de. pohoirced on leo-
mun addo .i. mpatth uapal.
Ip tpa afne din pomalarta
rochaide .if. la taeb narop-

nipea. Sochaide tpa ipeter-
laic agur innupriadnaire dia-
pottharmnaiz innafne dlig-
tech: Apur tpa afne
doridnachte diapecht do
moyri mac amri. Ip tpa
afne din porpuc popul de.
corcar do amalechdaib .a.
porpar ieru mac nun uar-
caltmam cotairped do dilcend
anamut. Ip tpa .a. poloz-

tha apecda do lucht nínúe. Coporepaic forúigail úé. Ír tpaia .a. apoet heln fáich. pách fáitpíne conberna fer hile ađur mupbuli mopa hi calman. Ír tpaia .a. dorđm daviđ aichpúize copolog dia úó apecda. Ír tpaia .a. ađur iarpaizethi in popul inóne poraepa iepplm in amrip ezechiae rí inđa do lamaib nanaparba, batap anuphuib impe ađur dopac amgel úé tamc do úíten nacatpach tenú namuc ađur bar ađur úóipe ađur plaiđ for ararbu. Copomarb .v. mile lxxx ap. c. in. úib. Ír tpaia .a. tpa poraepab retup arptul doncharchair ađur donchombabub ambuirium.

Ír tpaia .a. ađur ipnaizethi ađur almpan poaipitniz copnil cenncaur. pách na rpirpba noim fair pianabaichur. Ír tpaia .a. dopacab baichur do pól arptul ađur

podilizthea athorgabala úó. Ír tpaia .a. poroillpizthea puine nime do eom bpuinde, balta ípu. Ite rin din pacha ađur dimmbuaba naháine. Ocur atimba abuaba arche-na. Mlongenar don chach dorđm co corp inafne, ap ír neam amaribaize. . . .

P. 259, col. 2. . . . Ír tpaia .a. ađur epnaizthe .úin. do berap damman cech úuine uair netpechta fipe nabamri dorizne ípud domunpa ađur nach plág porúingab do úof-nib ađur cechpaib, ír tpaia aine ađur epnaizthe pohup Dia cechní fo bich ír muip úithozlaibe petozail do đner inafne, ađur ír .f. úiriuach dochumni placha nime ađur ír athnuibuzub cairbera forpba. ír corpmach netlu ađur berici icpoibe cech úuine do đena amal dorúirpium.

APPENDIX MM.

(See vol. ii., p. 70.)

Modum tenendi parlamen-
tum pro Abbatibus, Episcopis,
etc.

Amino libenti et debito promitto vobis et nobis et unicuique de vobis et de ecclesiis vobis commissis canonice privilegium atque debitam legem atque justitiam servabo et defensionem quantum potero, adjuvante Domino, exhibeo, sicut

rex in suo regno. Unicuique et pro abbatibus et ecclesiis sibi commissis rectam exhiberi debet.

Rex in medio principalis scamnis et ad ejus dexteram Archiepiscopus loci. Et si extra Dublinium tenendum fuerit ad sinistram Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis et deinde Cassellanus et Luamensis ex utraque

parte, deinde Episcopi et ab-
bates et alii secundum ordinem
suum. Non debet teneri in
diebus Dominicis, nec die om-
nium sanctorum nec die anima-

rum, nec nativitate Sti. Johan-
nis Baptistae.—MS. E., 3, 18,
T.C.D., fol. *Extracts from*
Black and White Book, Dublin,
fol. 49, T.C.D.

APPENDIX NN.

(See vol. ii., p. 109.)

FROM THE "BLACK BOOK OF LIMERICK."

"Ecclesia de Iniscathaigh
cujus Rector Precentor et Com-
munitas Regles. Precentor no-
minat et praesentat apud Inis-
cathigh vicarium et facit custo-
dem super conventum ibidem
ad nutum suum recipiendo
ecclesiastica feoda et confert
xii. porciones ex parte australi
et corrigit excessus presbitero-
rum porcionariorum, licet sunt
defacto residentes in diocesi
Artfertensi qui de jure debent
residere personaliter in ecclesia
conventuali in diocesi Lymeri-
censi. Et Ego . . . Episcopus
Lymericensis feoffavi domino
Gilberto O'Cathill quondam ibi
vicario de terris spectantibus
ad ecclesiam Lymericensem
existentibus in insula de Inis-
kathi quas recuperavi per in-
quisitionem per me captam,
quae non fuerunt ante me per
multos annos in possessione
ecclesiae sub hac forma: viz.,
quod dominus Gilbert heredes
sui et assignati mihi sive suc-
cessoribus meis canonice intran-

tibus solvere singulis annis
nomine annui redditus xiid.
medietatem: viz., ad Pascha et
aliam medietatem ad festum
Sancta Michaelis, et quacun-
que prima nocte declinavero ad
dictam insulam vel successores
mei declinaverint debent nos
reficere in esculentis et poculen-
tis, et omnibus aliis necessariis,
et deinde quamdiu moram
traxero ibidem vel successores
mei traxerint, ignem, lumen, et
stramina ministrare debent et
id propriis sumptibus et ex-
pensis et curiare nobis victualia
per aquam in expensis nostris
ac in naviculis et laboribus ipso-
rum de Lymer. et aliis villis
foalibus dicte nostre diocesis
et de Iniskathigh eodem modo
ad omnia maneria nostrae de
Lesamkile, Drumdile, Moun-
grett, et Lymer."

I am not aware that this
curious document has ever been
published by another.

APPENDIX OO.

(See vol. ii., p. 192.)

FROM THE "LEABHAR BREAC," P. 255, COL. 2.

Adamnan's Vision of Hell.

Tulcha ruaba rogarba, moínte mopa delgnecha, rligetí palcha rírdorcha, aithe gearba altínde. goetha luatha loirctecha goirtí gearba gempeta, rnechta rerbba rírdgnathchi, goirt tarb loirctech letartact. . . .

Uacha beyna biartaibi, indri fuara gearba goethacha, colla brena bruchloircti, talum gearb gaimmigi, dub dorcha betradach, cairpchech enocach cruablarfach . . . lecco lethna tentibi, ríat lartha loirctecha . . .

clóthi deargá nomora rínd-aithi . . . ríat combluthi compenpa compindaithe comarba condpucht neme for baiṛ cech .oen chlú. . . .

Congarpet agur congnechat agur connuallat agur conguillec corepb goirt . . . ienoccaib tentiwb agur in glennaib dubaib dorchaib doimnib bermarib betpudachuib. Múchna muichnig malartaig. Arataib iii. rírotha bermaire daralair, etc.

APPENDIX PP.

MONASTERIES FOUNDED FROM THE INVASION OF THE ENGLISH TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.*

In 1170 was founded at Fermoy the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or "de Castro Dei." In 1171 was founded at Kilkenny the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or "de

Valle Dei," by Dermot O'Ryan. In 1172 was founded at Cork the abbey of Maur, or "de Fonte Vivo," under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Conor M'Carthy, King of Desmond. In the same year were founded the abbeys of Hore, near Cashel, and of Inchrie, a daughter to the abbey of Maur, by David M'Carville. About 1170 was founded

* Without Archdall's *Monasticon*, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for me to give a record of the religious houses.

at Carrigalictig (Cork) a Cistercian house, by Conor M'Carthy. In 1172 was founded the Cistercian abbey of Moycosquin, or "of the clear spring. In 1174 was founded at Kilmainham a priory of St. John Baptist for Templars. In 1177 was founded St. Thomas' house, at Dublin, for Canons Regular, by Henry II.* In 1178 was founded the monastery of "de Rosea Valle," at Monasterevan (Kildare), by Dermot O'Dempsey. In 1179 were founded at Neddrum, county Down, a house by John de Courcey, and the abbey of Ashroe, or "de Samario," by Roderick O'Flaherty. In 1180 were founded at Colp, county Meath, a house by Henry II., which was made a cell to that in Lanthony, in Wales, and the "black abbey" of Iniscoorey, for Benedictines, by John de Courcey; the Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint,* county Kilkenny, by Donald, Prince of Ossory; and at Middleton, the abbey, "de choro Dei."† In 1182 were founded the abbey of Holy Cross,‡ by Donald O'Brien, and the abbey of Dunbrody by Hervy de Montmorrisco. In 1184 were founded a Benedictine abbey at Kilcommon, Tipperary, by Philip of Worcester; and at Inislaught, Tipperary, the abbey "de Surio," by Donald O'Brien.

* This had a seat in Parliament.

† Alemand, Archdall.

‡ Because the lands of "Holy Cross" were held of an earldom, its abbot was called an earl, and was, generally, the superior of the Cistercian Order.

and another house at Ardfinan. In 1188 was founded near Dublin a priory of St. John Baptist, by Alured de Palmer. In 1190 were founded at Kells, Kilkenny, a priory for Augustinians,* by Geoffrey FitzRobert, and the abbey of Knockmoy, or "de colle Victoriae,"† county

* Archdall puts the foundation of this house to 1193, but it may be said that de Lacy and the King made donations to it about that time.

† Some put the foundation of Knockmoy to 1189, and trace the origin of the word, not to a victory gained by O'Connor, but to a woman named "Muaidh."—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by J. O'Donovan. In 1240, the Abbot of Knockmoy, because he allowed his head to be washed by a woman, narrowly escaped deposition. At the same time, a slight penance was imposed on him for six days, on two of which he was to fast on bread and water. Besides, during forty days, he was interdicted the Abbot's stall. A solemn caution was given that no person in holy orders should be guilty of a like transgression.—Martene, Tom. iv., col. 1347. In the first years of the fifteenth century, inside the church was found a monumental slab. The inscription for a long time puzzled antiquarians. At last it was deciphered by the late Eugene O'Curry: "Pray for the souls of Malachy and his wife Finola. Manus Murtough, Murtough."—*Transactions of R. I. Academy*, vol. i.

Galway, by Charles O'Connor; and a house for Regular Canons at Inchicronan, county Clare, by Donald O'Brien. In 1192 were founded in Dublin a nunnery for Augustinian Canonesses, "Grace Dicu," afterwards translated by Archbishop Comyns, and a leper house at Kilbixey, Westmeath. In 1189 was founded the abbey of Woney, county Limerick, by Theobald Butler.* In 1188 was founded a Cistercian house at Abbeyfeale, a cell to that at Nenay. In 1193 was founded the gray abbey, or "de Jugo Dei," county Down, by Africa, wife of de Courcey, and daughter to the King of Mann. In 1194 was founded a house at Hilfathin, county Donegal, by O'Doherty. In 1194 were founded at Nodder, near Tara, a house for Regular Canons; at Tarnon Fechin, Louth, a nunnery under the invocation of the B. V. M., by M'Mahon; and confirmed, if not founded, was a house at Clonard, Meath, by Malachy, King of Meath. In 1194 was founded at Corcomroe the abbey "de petra fertili," by Donald O'Brien.† In 1195 was founded the abbey of Clare, or Kilmony, or "de Forgio," under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul, by Donat O'Brien. In 1198 was

founded the abbey of Killshane, county Limerick, a cell to Corcomroe. In 1199 was founded the abbey of Comerer, or Comber, county Down, by the Whites. In 1200 charters were granted to Tristernagh, county Westmeath, founded a few years before by Geoffrey Constantine, to the priory of Athassel,* county Tipperary, founded by William de Barry; to the priory of John Baptist, near Nenagh, founded by Theobald Butler; to the nunnery of Timolinbeg, county Kildare, founded by Robert FitzRichard; to the nunnery of Graney, in Carlow (not in Kildare), by Walter de Riddlesford; to the house of Kilereneuta, county Galway, or "de casta sylva," founded by Charles O'Connor; to the abbey of Little Tintern, Wexford,† or "devoto," by the Earl of Pembroke; to the house at Kilkeggan, Westmeath, or "de flumine Dei," a Cistercian house founded by the D'Altons; to the abbey of Kilcoul, or "de arvi campo," founded by Donat O'Brien; to the priory of Arosian Canons at Rathkeale, founded by one Harvy; to the abbey of Glangrah, or "vale of charity," a sister to Clairvant. In the twelfth century, too, were founded at Trim the abbey of the B. V. M., and the priory of Clonard, dedicated to St. Peter by the Lacys; the abbey of Nenaw by Joceline Nangle; the priory of Inisnaganana, county Clare, by Donald O'Brien; the preceptory of

* This had a seat in Parliament.

† It must have been in 1194, and not in 1200, as others think, because it had a cell at Killshane, county Limerick, founded so early as 1198.—*Liber Mun.*

* This had a seat in Parliament.

† *Lib. M.*

St. John (Wexford) by the Earl of Pembroke; a preceptory of Kilmainham by Walter de Lacy; a house for Templars at Kilsaran, Louth, by Maud de Lacy; the preceptory of St. John Baptist at Down by Hugh de Lacy; a preceptory at Waterford; another at Kilbarry, and another at Killure, county Waterford; a house for Templars in Westmeath, as well as religious houses at Ballymore, Lendy, and at Clary for Gilbertines. In this time also were founded the priory of St. John Baptist, near Kells, by Walter de Lacy; the priory of St. John Baptist at Kilkenny by the Tirrells; the priory of St. Leonard, near Dundalk, by Bertram de Verdun; the priory of St. John Baptist at Down by John de Courcy; the priory of St. John Evangelist, near Waterford, by John Earl of Moreton; the priory of St. John, near Cork, by the same individual; the nunnery of Killeigh, King's County, by the Warrens; the preceptory of St. Congall for Templars, at Clontarf, by Henry II., and the priory of Canons Regular at Carrick.

Monasteries founded in the Thirteenth Century.

In the thirteenth century were founded preceptories of Hospitallers in the county Kildare by Maurice FitzGerald—one at Killbegs, another at Kiltoul, and a third at Tully. In Kilrush, county Kildare, was founded a house for Regular Canons. At Timolinbeg was founded a nunnery of St. Mary's by Richard, Lord of Norwich.

At Castledermot was founded a house for Crouched Friars by Walter Riddlesford. At Castledermot was founded a house for Franciscans, very probably by Hynes.* At Rosspoint was founded a house for Franciscans by Sir John Devereux. At Wexford was founded a Franciscan house by Fitzgerald.† At Leighlin was founded a Carmelite convent by Carew. At Killeigh, King's county, was founded a Franciscan house by O'Connor. In Queen's county was founded a Franciscan house by O'More. At Trim was founded a Franciscan house. At Beaubec, county Meath, was founded a Benedictine house, by de Lacy. At Kilmainham was founded a preceptory of Knights of St. John by the Prestons. At Kilmichael, Westmeath, was founded a Franciscan house of the Third Order by the Petits. At Derg, Longford, was founded a house for Augustinian Canons by Gormhall O'Quin. At Drogheda was founded a house for Augustinian Hermits. At Dundalk was founded a house for Franciscans by Verdun. At Kilsaran, county Louth, was founded a house for Templars by Maud de Lacy. At Ardminise, county Down, was

* Ware, *Alem*. The *Liber Munerum* makes the founder a Richard Tirrell. Perhaps it was a different house.

† Alemand does not deem the opinion of Wadding improbable, which places its foundation in 1482; but at this date there was a question of reformation rather than foundation.

founded a Franciscan house. At Holywood, county Down, was founded a house for the Third Order of Franciscans by Annesley. At Woodborn, county Antrim, was founded a house for Præmonstratenses. At Kilmacrenan, county Donegal, as well as at Bellogham and Ballymacsweeney were founded houses by the O'Donnells. At Crook, county Waterford, was founded a preceptory. Near Cork was founded a house for Augustinian Hermits. At Ballindrohid was founded a house for the Canons of St. Victor by Alexander FitzHugh. At Adare, according to Ware, but at Athassel, between Tipperary and Limerick, according to Alemand, was founded a house for Trinitarians by Clangibbons.* At Tipperary was founded a house for Augustinian Hermits. At Kilcoul, county Tipperary, was founded a monastery. At Teach-Temple, county Sligo, was founded a house for Templars. In Meath was founded the priory "De laude Dei" in honour of the Holy Trinity by Jordan Comyn. At Carrick-on-Suir was founded a priory of St. John Baptist by William de Cantus and his wife, Dionisia. At Kellaghre, county Kerry, was founded a priory in honour of the B.V.M. by Geoffrey De Mariscis.† At Rathboy, Kerry, was founded the priory of SS. Peter and Paul for Aro-

asian Canons by a friar named William.* At Aughrim was founded a priory of St. Catherine by Theobald Walter. At Killergrgy, county Kildare, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist for Templars by Gilbert de Boissel. At Morne or Ballynemona was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist. At Any, Limerick, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist by Geoffrey D'Marisco. At Clonone, Tipperary, was founded a house for Templars. At Kinalakin, county Galway, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist by the O'Flaherties. At Enagh-dune was founded an abbey in honour of the B.V.M. At Tuam was founded an abbey of the Holy Trinity by the Burkes. Near Athy was founded an abbey of St. John Baptist by Richard de St. Michael. Near Drogheda was founded a priory of St. Laurence by the mayor and townsmen. The priory of Teach-Eon, Roscommon, was founded by King John. At Kilclogan was founded a preceptory of St. John for Templars. At Clane, Kildare, was founded a Franciscan house by Gerald Fitzmaurice. At Limerick was founded a Franciscan house by D'Burgo. At Tornamona, Roscommon, was founded a Franciscan house by Felim O'Con-

* *Liber Munerum*. Alem. says it was the only house of the Order in Ireland; but there are very strong reasons for differing from him, as I shall show by-and-by.

† It had a seat in Parliament.

* It too had a seat in Parliament. Those who sat in Parliament wore Parliamentary robes. They were, however, discontinued from Edward IV. to Henry VII., but afterwards were binding under forfeiture of £5.—*Selden*, ch. iv, part ii., p. 840.

nor. At Dungarvan was founded a house for Augustinian Hermits by the Earl of Desmond. At Cork was founded a house for Augustinian Hermits by De Courcey, Baron of Kinsale. At Tipperary was founded a house for Augustinian Hermits. At Limerick was founded a house for Augustinians by O'Brian.* At Enniscorthy, Wexford, was founded a house for Regular Canons by Gerald Prendergast. In 1202 at Conal, on the Liffey, were founded St. Mary's, a house for Regular Canons of St. Augustine by Miles FitzHenry; and at Ocymild or Drymild, county Antrim, a priory for Richard, monk of Glastonbury, by De Burgo, under the invocation of the B.V.M. In 1205 were founded the priory of St. Wulstan at Kildare for Canons Regular by Adam or Richard De Hereford; and in Woney,

Limerick, a house for Cistercians by Theobald Fitzwalter.* In 1206 was founded at Drogheda the priory of St. Mary by Ursus de Sannel, which afterwards came into the hands of Cross-bearers or Crouched Friars and of Augustinian Canons. In 1207 were founded near Athirdee, Louth, the priory of Cross-bearers under St. John Baptist by Richard Pipard; and at Dousk, county Kilkenny, a house for Cistercians by the Earl of Pembroke, to which was added by-and-by the abbey "of the vale of God."† In 1210 were founded at Inistock, Kilkenny, a house for Augustinian Canons by the Marshal of Leinster; and at Lerha or Granard, county Longford, the abbey of the B.V.M. by Richard Tuite for Cistercians; and at Waterford a house of St. Victor by Elias Fitznonnen. It should rather be said that the latter was merely endowed, because it had been founded by Ostmen. In 1211 was founded at Kilkenny the priory of St. John Evangelist for Regular Canons of St. Augustine by the Earl of Pembroke. In 1212 was founded at Graignemanagh, Kilkenny, a house for Cistercians by William Mareschall. In 1215 was founded at Loughkee, county Roscommon, a house of the

* This house might have been the same with one mentioned by "Liber Munerum" and Ware, were it not for the difference of founder. Archdall mentions Simon Minor as the founder. According to Ware the prior had the first voice in the election of mayor. An inquisition, taken under Henry VIII., speaks of the privilege of St. Mary's and St. Edward's confessor. Archdall contends that the privilege belonged to Augustine *Hermits* and not to the Canons. The Canons yielded to the Hermits in 1739-40, and thus ended a chancery suit of fifty years' standing. *Bruodine*, M'Gregor's Limerick, p. 568.

* It had a seat in parliament.

† Alemand says that it was the "Vale of God" in Cork, and that it was found in 1204. *Note* to p. 7. The Cistercian convent, however, had a seat in parliament.

Præmonstratenses by M'Mallin. In 1216 was founded at Ballin-
tober, Mayo, a house for Augustinian Canons by O'Connor
Crovdearg, King of Ireland. In 1218 was founded at London-
derry a Cistercian house by Leenogh O'Neill. In the same
year were likewise founded at Moycassin, Derry, a Cistercian
house; and at Ardee, county Down, a Benedictine house by
Hugh de Lacy; and at Fourc, Westmeath, a Benedictine nun-
nery by Walter de Lacy, though first it was intended for Regular
Canons; and at the same place was founded a house for Gil-
bertines of the Præmonstre Order under the same roof as
the preceding, but a distinct house.* In 1219 was founded
at Salmon-Leap, near Dublin, a convent for Regular Canons by
Waris de Pech. In 1220 was founded at Steyne, Dublin, a
house for Canons Regular by Archbishop Loundres. In 1224
were founded at Cloyne a Franciscan house; and at Clare-
Island, Mayo, the abbey of B. V. M., a cell to Knockmoy;
and at Tracton a Cistercian house by M'Carthy. In the
same year, too, were founded at Dublin a Dominican convent,
got from the Cistercians; and at Drogheda a Dominican house.†

In 1225 was founded at Kil-
kenny a Dominican convent by the Earl Marshal, junior. In
1226 was founded at Waterford a Dominican convent. In 1227
were founded at Glanworth, county Cork, a Dominican con-
vent; at Molingar, Westmeath, a house for Augustinian Canons
by Ralph le Petit Bishop; at Limerick a Dominican house by
Corbrac O'Brien. In 1229 was founded at Cork a Dominican
house by the Barrys. In 1231 was founded near Cork a Fran-
ciscan house by M'Carthy.* In 1232 were founded at Kilmore
Roscommon, a house for Regular Canons by Con O'Flanagan;
at Carrickfergus a Franciscan house by Hugh de Lacy; at
Kilkenny a Franciscan house by Richard Mareschall. In
1233 was founded at Atmoy, county Sligo, the abbey of Holy
Trinity for Præmonstre by Clairus Mailin. In 1236 were
founded at Multifernam, West-
meath, a Franciscan house by William Delamere; At Carrig-
beg, Waterford, a Franciscan house; near Dublin a Francis-
can house by Henry III. In 1237 were founded at Youghal
a Franciscan convent; at Mo-
lingar a Dominican house by the

of cathedral churches. The former was got from the Cistercians on condition of receiving a candle every Christmas for the black abbey.

* The Charter mentions John de Courcey as the founder of the house at Down. At all events, he was a benefactor. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Archbishop of Armagh got it by paying £200.

† The latter could take charge

* Wadding says that no Franciscan house was established in Ireland before the year 1232.—*Annals of the Minors*, ii. vols. ed. of xix. vols.

Nugents; at Ballybeg, county Cork, the priory of St. Thomas—at least it was endowed. In 1240 were founded at Ennis a Franciscan convent by Donat O'Brien; at Down a Franciscan house; at Clonroad a Franciscan house. In 1240 were founded a Franciscan house by Hugh Purcell; at Drogheda a Franciscan house; at Athlone a Franciscan house by the Digbys or Dillons; and at Lismullen, East Meath, a house for Augustinian nuns by Richard Corner and Avicia. In 1241 was founded at Athenry a Dominican convent. In 1243 were founded at Cashel a Dominican convent by David M'Kelly; at Tralee a Dominican house by Fitzgerald. In 1244 were founded at Newtown, county Down, a Dominican convent; at Coleraine a Dominican house likewise. In 1249 was founded at Lough-Oughter a house of Præmonstre by Clarus O'Maillin. In 1250 was founded at Nenagh a Franciscan house by Henry III. In 1251 was founded an Augustinian house by the Bishop of Ossory, Hugh Stapleton. In 1252 were founded at Sligo a Dominican house by Maurice Fitzgerald; at Athleathan, Mayo, a Dominican house. In 1253 were founded at Athy a Dominican convent by the Fagans; at Roscommon a Dominican house by Felim O'Connor; At Kilras a house for Præmonstre by Clarus O'Maillin, which was a cell to that of the Holy Trinity; at Ardferit a Franciscan house. In 1529 was founded at Dublin a house for Augustinian Friars by Talbot. In 1260 was founded

at Kildare a Franciscan house by de Vescey. In 1261 was founded at Armagh a Franciscan house. In 1263 were founded at Trim a Dominican house by O'Genevil; at Armagh (1264?) a Franciscan house by Scanlan, Archbishop of Armagh.* In 1264 was founded at Arklow a Dominican house by Theobald Butler. In 1267 was founded at Rossbercan (not Wexford) a Dominican house by the Graces and Walshes. In 1268 were founded at Youghal a Dominican house; at Wileschen, Dublin, a house for Suc Friars or friars "de pœnitentia," J. C.† In 1269 were founded at Roscommon a Franciscan house; at Clonmel a Franciscan house founded by Desmond; and at Lurrow a Dominican house.‡ In 1272 was founded at Cashel a Cistercian house by the Archbishop M'Cawell, who turned out the Benedictines. In 1274 were founded at Rafran, county Mayo, a Dominican house by MacJordan; at Derry a Domi-

* Wadding dates the foundation of the Armagh convent at 1291, and adds that it was reformed in 1518, that in it friars were whipped in 1565 merely for being found there.

† Archdall adds that the Suc Friars were condemned in 1311 in a council at Vienne.

‡ According to Wadding the Clonmel house was founded by Desmond; according to Ware by Grandison, and according to the *Liber Munerum* by Sir John Hackett. Alem. tells us that the Butlers had a seat in the choir

nican house by O'Donnell; at Dublin a house for Mendicant Friars of Mary of Carmel by Robert Baggot. In 1273 was founded at Buttevant, Cork, or at least was endowed a priory. In 1281 was founded in Armagh county at Stradballyse a Franciscan house. In 1286 was founded near Trim at Newtown a house for Augustinian Canons by Rochford, Bishop. In 1287 was founded on the Liffey a Franciscan house by Fitzmaurice. In 1290 were founded at Kildare a Carmelite convent by William de Vescey; at Clare, Galway, a Franciscan house by John de Cogan. In 1293 was founded near King's Island, Limerick, a Franciscan house. In 1294 was founded at Ballyclare, Galway, a Franciscan house; at Kilmallock a Dominican house. In 1295 was founded at Dungarvan a house for Augustinian Friars by Thomas Lord of Offaly; it was endowed by M'Gretly and patronized by O'Brien of Crummeragh. In 1296 was founded near Galway in the island of St. Stephen, a Franciscan house by De Burgo. In 1300 were founded at Ballymacwilliam Roe, county Carlow, a house for Knights Templars; at Cavan a Dominican house by O'Reilly; at Loughrea a house for White Friars by De Burgo; at Thurles a house for Franciscans by Butler and another for White Friars; and at Cavan a Franciscan house by Red O'Reilly.

Monasteries founded in the Fourteenth Century.

In the fourteenth century

were founded the priory of the B. V. M., "de viridi rupe," by Griffith Condon; at Maylagh, Tipperary, a nunnery of St. Bridget by the Butlers; at Knockmore, county Sligo, a Dominican convent by O'Gara; at Any, county Limerick, an Augustinian house for Hermits by John Fitz-Robert; at Little Horton, county Wexford, a friary under the patronage of the B. V. M., by Furlong; at Kinsale a Carmelite friary by Robert Fitz-Richard Balrain; at Ballingall (?) Ballingarry, county Limerick, a Carmelite house by the Roches;* at Crevebane, county Galway, a Carmelite house by the Earl of Clanricarde; at Kilcolgan, county Wexford, a house for Hospitallers; at Killergy, Leighlin, a house for Hospitallers; near Drogheda a house for Carmelites, under the invocation of the B. V. M.; at Quin a Franciscan house. In 1302 were founded a Franciscan house at Buttevant, county Cork, by the Barrys; at Castle Dermot, county Kildare, a house for Conventual Franciscans by the Lord of Offaly. In 1303 was founded at Carlingford a Dominican convent. In 1306 was founded at Carrick M'Griffin, county Waterford, a Franciscan house by the Earl of Ormond. In 1307 was founded at Castle-Lyons, county Cork, a Franciscan house by John

* *Hib. Dom.* says it was a Dominican house.

Barry.* In 1308 was founded the monastery of O'Gormagan, or "de via nova," under the invocation of the B. V. M., by O'Gormagan. In 1306 was founded at Fethard, Tipperary, a house for Augustinian Hermits by Walter Mulcot. In 1314 was founded at Tully Felim, or Tullagh, Carlow, a house for Augustinian Hermits by Lini, Lombard, and H. Tallon. In 1315 was founded at Adare a house for Dominicans by John Fitz-Thomas. In 1317 was founded at Athboy, E. Meath, a Carmelite friary by William Loundres. In 1320 was founded at Ross, county Wexford, a house for Augustinian Hermits; at Bantry a Franciscan house by O'Sullivan. In 1325 were founded at Kilmalekin, county Galway, a Franciscan convent; at Totmoy, King's County, or Offaly, a Conventual Franciscan house by Birmingham. Earl of Louth. In 1337 was founded at Carrick-on-Suir a Franciscan convent by the Earl of Ormond. In 1341 was founded at Skrine, Meath, a house for Eremites of St. Augustine by Sir Francis Feiho. In 1342 was founded at Skrine a chantry by the same. In 1337 was founded at Ballinrobe, Mayo, a house for Augustinian Hermits. In 1340 was founded at Muckruss, Kerry, a house for Franciscans by M'Carthy.† In 1347 was

founded at Cloncurry, Kildare, a Carmelite friary by John Roche. In 1350 was founded at Limerick a house for Grey Friars by Marina, wife to Earl of Desmond. In 1354 was founded at Rosserly, county Galway, a house for Minors. In 1356 were founded at Knocktopher, Kilkenny, a house for Carmelite Friars by the Earl of Ormond; near Nass a Dominican house by Eustace; at Ballinahinch, Galway, a house for Carmelites by the O'Flahertys; at Athenry, too, Carmelites by the same. In 1364 was founded at Adare a house for Minors by Thomas of Kildare. In 1363 at Glascorrig, county Wexford, a house for Benedictines by Griffin Condon and his wife Cecilia Barry. In 1358 were founded at Clonshanville, Roscommon, a Dominican house by M'Dermott Roe; at Clomin, county Wexford, an Augustine house. In 1339 was founded at Askeaton a house for Franciscans by James, Earl of Desmond. In 1390 were founded at Mortol, Queen's County, a Franciscan house; at Falleg, Galway, a Franciscan house by one Falleg; at Timoleague, county Cork, a Franciscan house by M'Carthy or Barry.* In 1389 was founded at Ardferit a house for Franciscan Conventuals by one Ray-

bear marks of an earlier date, so that we are to infer that the building was completed at the date in the text.

* *Hib. Dom.* and Archdall make it a Dominican house.

† *Annals of the Four Masters.* Some portions of the building

* Wadding says the founder was M'Carthy.

mund. In 1393 was founded at Killcagh, King's County, a house for Franciscans by O'Connor Feily. In 1400 were founded at Kilconnell, county Galway, a house for Franciscans by William Kelly; and before 1400 at Aghavoe, Queen's County, a house for Dominicans by Fitz-Patrick.

Religious Houses founded in the Fifteenth Century.

In 1412 were founded a house at Barriscorra, Mayo;* at Thacneling, Leitrim, a Franciscan house by William O'Reilly, afterwards given to the Strict Observants. In 1420 at Askeaton was founded a house for Conventual Franciscans by the Earl of Desmond. In 1423 was founded at Benada, county Roscommon, an Augustinian house. In 1425 was founded at Dunmore, county Galway, a house for Augustinian Hermits by Birmingham. In 1426 at Portumna was founded a house for Dominicans by O'Madden. In 1427 at Ardnary, county Sligo, were founded a house for Augustinian Hermits; at Tombolea, county Galway, a house for Dominicans by the O'Flahertys; at Ballindum a house for Dominicans by the O'Donnoughs.† In 1428 was founded at Killinbonaina, county Galway, a house for Franciscans. In 1431

was founded at Ross Eraily, county Galway, a house for Franciscans. In 1433 was founded at Quin, county Clare, a house for Strict Observants.* In 1435 was founded at Clonkeen and at Kerril, county Galway, a Franciscan house of the Third Order by Thomas Kelly, Bishop. In 1441 were founded Temple Mayle, Conlenevernoge, Kiltullagh, Beagh, for the Third Order of St. Francis. In 1450 at Elphin were founded a house for Franciscans by Bishop O'Dea; at Ballinacduan, county Cork, a friary or nunnery. In 1454 were founded at Kilmarmick, King's County, a house for Carmelites by O'Mulloy; at Inistormer, county Mayo, a friary of the Holy Trinity by Thady O'Dowd. In 1440 at Irrialough, Kerry, a house for Conventual Franciscans by Donald Thady M'Carthy.† In 1448 were founded at Tuilsk, Roscommon, a house for Preachers by O'Connor and O'Donnell; at Orlare, Mayo, a Dominican house by Nangle.‡ In 1460 were founded at Bantry a Franciscan house by Dermot O'Sullivan; at Naas a house for Strict Observants by the Eustaces; at Enniscorthy a house for Minors Observant by Donald Cavenagh; at Inissherk, Cork, a house for Francis-

* It was given by John XXII. to Augustinians.

† *Hib. Dom.* says it was in Roscommon; Archdall says it was in Sligo.

* *Liber Munerum* says it was the first in Ireland of the Strict Observants.

† Wadding puts it to 1449.

‡ *Hib. Dom.* puts it to 1434.

cans by O'Driscoll; at Moyne, county Mayo, a Franciscan house by O'Donohoe or Bourke.* In 1462 was founded at Monaghan a Franciscan house by M'Mahon. In 1465 was founded at Kilree, Cork, a house for Franciscans by Cormac M'Carthy. In 1464 were founded at Adare a Franciscan house by the Earl of Kildare; at Athenry another such house by the same.† In 1465 at Glenarm, county Antrim, a house for Franciscans. In 1471 was founded at Callan, Kilkenny, a Franciscan house by James Butler. In 1473 was founded at Donegal a Franciscan house for Observants by Hugh O'Donnell. In 1478 was founded at Lislachtin, Kerry, a house for Franciscans by John O'Connor. In 1484 was founded at Naas a house for Augustinian Hermits. In 1485 was founded at Arran the Greater a house for Franciscans. In 1486 was founded near Kilcullen Bridge, county Kildare, a house for Observantines by Roland Portlester. In 1488 was founded in Galway a Dominican nunnery. In 1489 was founded at Ballinasagard, Tyrone, a house for Franciscans by Con O'Neil. In 1490 was founded at Roscrea a house for Franciscans by O'Carroll and Bibiana O'Dempsey, his wife. In 1448 were founded at Dungarvan a house for Augustinian

Hermits by the Earl of Desmond; at Clonmichan, county Sligo, a house for Dominicans by O'Donohoe. In 1486 was founded at Borrishool, Mayo, a Dominican house by De Burgo. In 1487 was founded at Callan a house for Augustinian Hermits by Butler.* In 1497 was founded at Carrickfergus a house for Observantines. In 1498 was founded at Rosserelly, Galway, a house for Franciscans by Granard. In the fifteenth century were founded at Killanalla, or Killargo, Tipperary, a house for Franciscans; at Six-milebridge a Dominican house; at Gaula, Fermagh, a Dominican house;† at Dungarvan a house for Franciscans of the Third Order by Con O'Neil; at Clonraheen, Roscommon, a house for Franciscans by Conor Roe; at Teagh Saxon, near Athenry, a house for the same; at Clochin and Clantualig, county Galway, a house for the same by O'Madden; at Carock, Gewagh, Kerin, Puble, and Omey, all in Tyrone, and at Magharabeg, Donegal, were founded religious houses.

(For the houses founded in the early part of the sixteenth century see Chapter XV).

* Herrera says there were two convents at Callan.

† *Hib. Dom.* (p. 125) says that Oliver Plunkett gave a decision in reference to it—that the Dominicans and Franciscans could quest where neither had a house, and wherever they had had a house, though it may have been taken from them.

* Wadding puts the foundation of Inissherkan to 1307.

† I am not quite certain that Archdall is correct as to the founder.

APPENDIX Q Q.**

ARMAGH.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Ined.
Gelasius	1137	1174	Walter de Jorse	1306 res.	1311
Cornelius M'Concoille	1174	1176	Roland Jorse	1311 res.	1322
Gilbert O'Caran	1176	1180	Stephen Segrave	1322	1333
Thomas O'Connor	1181 res.	1184	David O'Hiraghty	1334	1346
Melisa O'Carroll	1184	1184	Richard FitzRalph	1347	1360
Amlaid O'Murid	1184	1185	Milo Sweetman	1361	1380
Fogarty O'Carrolan	1185	1185	John Colton	1382 res.	1404
Thomas O'Connor	1185	1201	Nicholas Fleming	1404	1416
Eugene M'Gillivider	1206	1216	John Swayn	1417 res.	1439
Luke Netterville	1217	1227	John Prene	1439	1443
Donat O'Fidabra*	1227	1237	John Mey	1444	1456
Albert de Cologne	1240 res.	1247	John Bole	1457	1470
Reiner	1247	1256	John Foxall	1475 res.	1476
Abraham O'Connellan	1257	1260	Edmund Connesbury	1477 res.	1479
Patrick O'Scanlan	1261	1270	Octavian de Palatio*	1480	1513
Nicholas Malisa	1272	1303	John Kite	1513 tr.	1511
John Taafet†	1305	1306	George Cromert†	1522	1542

* Some place James Durse between O'Fiadabra and Albert of Cologne.

† The Pope in issuing the Bull of appointment of John, speaks of the See being vacant by death of Nicholas: on that account F. Raymund given by De Burgo (*Hib. Dom.*, p. 462) as successor to Nicholas could not, unless as coadjutor, have been bishop. And it looks very unlikely that a bishop should have required a

coadjutor in 1286 (year assigned to Raymund's accession) who lived on till the year 1303, and died without one.

* The first seal of Armagh met with is "Sigillum Octaviani, Archiepis. Armach. Hiberniæ primatis, 1480."

† It is stated that Dr. Cromer was suspended in 1539 on suspicion of heresy; and that, till he cleared himself, the administration of the diocese was given to Dr. Waucop.

** The author expresses his special indebtedness, in making out this list of bishops, to the *Vetera Monumenta* of Theiner; to the *J. E. R.*, as written by the Right Rev. Dr. Moran; and, particularly for the post-Reformation Successions, to the *Episcopal Successions*, &c., by Dr. W. Maziere Brady.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died
Robert Waucop, Adm.	1539	1551	Dominic Maguire	1683	1707
George Dowdall	1553	—	Hugh M'Mahon	1713	1737
Donat Teigue	1560	1563	Bernard M'Mahon	1737	1747
Richard Creagh	1564	1585	Ross M'Mahon	1747	1748
Edmund M'Gau- ran	1587	1593	Michael O'Reilly	1749	1758
Peter Lombard	1601	1625	Anthony Blake	1758	1787
Hugh M'Cagwell	1626	1626	Dr. Troy, Adm.	1781	—
Hugh O'Reilly	1628 cir.	1653	Richard O'Reilly	1787	1817
Edmund O'Reilly	1657 cir.	1669	Patrick Curtis	1818	1832
Oliver Plunket	1669	1681	Thomas Kelly	1832	1835
Edward Drum- goole, Vicar.- Apos.	1682	—	William Crolly	1835	1849
			Paul Cullen	1849 tr.	1852
			Joseph Dixon	1852	1866
			Michael Kieran	1866	1869
			Daniel M'Gettigan	1870 tr.	—

ARDAGH.

M'Grath Moran	1152	1168	Gilbert M'Brady	1396	—
Christian O'Heoty	—	1179	Adam Lynns	1400	1416
O'Tirlenan	—	1187	Cornelius O'Farrell	1418	1424
O'Hislenan	—	1189	Richard Ferrall	1425	1444
Adam O'Muredy	—	1217	Cormac	1445	—
Robert	1217	1224	Macmaradan	1448	—
Simon M'Grath	1224	1230	Cormac	—	1460
Joseph Magoday	1230	1231	John (M'Gauran?)	1463	1476
Jocelain O'Tor- maig	1233	1237	William O'Farrell*	1479	1517
Brendon Magoday	1238 res.	1252	Roger O'Malone	1517 cir.	1540
Magairy	1253	—	Patrick M'Mahon	1541 cir.	1576
Milo Dunstable	1256	1289	Richard Brady	1576	1580
Matthew Heotha*	1290	1322	Edmd. M'Gauran	1581 tr.	1587
Alexander	—	—	Oliver Darcy	1644	1647
Robert	—	tr. 1323	Patrick Plunket	1647 tr.	1669
John Mageoi	1331	1343	In 1597 Jn. Gaffney was V.G., and was made in 1621 Vicar-Apost.	—	—
Owen O'Farrell	1347	1367	Patrick Plunket	1647 tr.	1669
William M'Cawse	1367	1373	Gerald Farrell, Vicar-Apost.	1669	—
John Aubry	1374	1394	Gregory Fallon,†	—	—
Henry Nony†	1392	—	Ad.	1686	1709

* The legend on the first seal met with is "Sig. Matthæi: Epi: Ardachensis: A.D. 1291." *Caulfield on Episcopal Seals.*

† Some mention Charles O'Farrell as the immediate successor of Dr. Nony.

* He was not consecrated till, probably, 1482.

† Dr. Fallon was Bp. of Clonmacnois.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Charles Tiernan, as Vicar-Apost.	1696	1709	Thomas M'Dermot Roe	1747	—
Bernard Donoghue, as Vicar-Apost.	1699	1709	August. Cheevers	1751 tr.	1756
Ambrose O'Con- nor	1709	1711	Anthony Blake	1756 tr.	1758
Thomas Moran	1711	—	James Brady	1758	1788
Thomas Flynn	1718	1730	John Cruise	1788	1812
Peter Mulligan	1732	—	James M'Gauran	1815	1829
Thomas O'Beirne, Coadj	1739	1747	William O'Higgins	1829	1853
			John Kilduff	1829	1853
			Cornelius M'Cabe	1867	1870
			George Conroy	1871	1878
			Barth. Woodlock	1879	—

CLOGHER.

Edan O'Kelly	1135	1182	Nehemiah Clonin*	1502 res.	1503
Mælisia O Carroll	1182	1184	Patrick Connolly	1504	1504
Chris. O'Macturan	1184	1191	Eugene M'Camæil	1505	1515
Mælisia M'Kiaran	1191	1195	Patrick Cullen	1519	1534
Tigernath M'Gilla Ronan	1195	1218	Hugh O'Cervalen	1535 ^{dep.} cir.	1546
Donat O'Fidabra	1218 tr.	1227	Raymd. M'Mahon	1546	1560
Nehem. O'Brogan	1227	1240	Cornelius Merca- dell	1560	1568
David O'Brogan	1240	1267	Cornelius M'Bar- dill	1569	—
Michael M'Insair	1268	1286	Eugene Matthews	1609 tr.	1611
Mat. O'Clohesy	1287	1315			
Cornelius O'Banan	1316	1319			
Nicholas O'Coheesy	1320	1356			
Bernard M'Camæil	1356	1361			
Mat. O'Coheesy	1361	—			
Odo O'Neil	—	1370			
John O'Corcoran	1373	—			
Arthur M'Camæil	1389	1432			
Peter Maguire	1423 ^{or}	1449 ^{res.}			
Roger Maguire*	1449	1483			
Edmund Courcey	1483 res.	1494			

* There is considerable confusion in the entries. Some Roman records mention Florence as having paid the customary services for promotion in 1475, and having got as coadjutor Andrew in 1500.—Brady's *Episcopal Succession*.

* Some place his resignation in 1504. But as his successor was not appointed till March in the following year, in which the plague carried him off, and as the plague raged violently in the north of Ireland, especially in 1504, I put the death of Clonin in 1503. The seal of Clogher represented a bishop in pontificals, crozier in left hand, and the right raised in benediction.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Patrick Duffy	1671	1675	Daniel O'Reilly	1747	1749
Patrick Tyrrell	1676 cir.	1668	Hugh O'Reilly	1779	1801
Hugh M'Mahon	1707 tr.	1713	James Murphy	1801	1824
Bernard M'Mahon			Edward Kiernan	1826	1844
Vicar-Apost.	1718	—	Charles M'Nally	1843	1864
Bernard M'Mahon	1727 tr.	1738	James Donnelly	1864	—
Ross M'Mahon	1738 tr.	1747			

CLONMACNOIS.

Moriertach O'Melider	1152 sat	1188	O'Gallagher	—	1397
Tigernach O'Malone*	—	1172	Peter	1398	1411
Mureach O'Murrechan	—	1213	Philip O'Moel	1411	1422
Edan O'Mailly	—	1220	David O'Brendog	1423	1424
Mulrony O'Moidein	1220	1231	Cormac M'Coghlan*	1427	1443
Hugh O'Malone	1230 res.	1235	John Oldais	1444	—
Thomas FitzPatrick	1236	1252	John	—	1486
Thomas O'Quint†	1252	1279	Walter Blake	1487	1508
Gilbert	1281 res.	1288	Thomas O'Mullaly	1508 tr.	1513
William Duffy	1290	1297	Quintin Hynagan	1516	1538
William O'Findan	1298	1300	Richard Hogan	1539	1539
Donald O'Brien	1305	—	Florence Kirwan	1539	1555
Lewis Daly	—	1337	Peter Wall	1556	1568
Richard Braybroke	sat	1358	Bishop of Meath,		
Henry	—	cir. 1367	Adm.	1631	—
Philip	—	1388	Anthony Gheohan	1647 tr.	1657
Milo Corry	1390	—	Moriarty Kearney,		
			Vicar-Apos.	1683	—
			Gregory Fallon	1688 cir.	1692
			Thady Coglán	—	—
			John O'Daly, V.G.	1723	—
			Stephen M'Egan	1725 tr,	1729
			United to Ardagh	1729	—

* Dr. O'Malone had been coadjutor, and died before the old bishop. The oldest seal of Clonmacnois had the legend, "A. Fabr. Fil. Eccl. c. de Cluainmacnoise, an. sal. 548."

† Some give David as predecessor to Dr. Quin rather than Thomas.

* There was a Cormac appointed in 1425, but, having failed to pay the usual service, did not receive bulls of consecration.

CONNOR.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Patrick O'Banan			John of Landaff	1322 tr.	1323
sat	1152 res.	1171	Robert	1323	1324
Nehemias	1171	—	William Mercer	1353	1374
Reginald	—	sat 1183	Paul	1374	—
Christian O'Kear-			John*	1420	—
ney	—	1210	Eugene Machive-		
Reginald	—	1225	nan	1421 sat	1427
Eustachius	1226 cir.	—	Cornelius	—	—
Adam	1242	1244	John	1441	1450
Isaac of Newcastle	1245	1257			
William of Port					
Royal	1257	1260	* Some records give :—		
William de Hay	1261	1263	O'Lacheran O'Connor	in 1420	
Robert of Flanders	1264	1274	Donald	in 1429	
Peter of Dunath	1274	1292	John Festade, by the		
John	1293	1297	death of Donald,	in 1429	
Richard	1311 sat	1320	—See Dr. Brady's <i>Succession of</i>		
James of Coupleth	1321	—	<i>Irish Bishops.</i>		

DOWN.

Malachy	1148	1175	Thomas Kittell	1305	1313
Gelasius M'Cor-			Thomas Bright	1314	1327
mac	1175	1175	Ralph Kilmessan	1328	1333
Malachy	1175	1201	Richard Calf	1333	1365
Ralph	1202	1213	William	1365	1368
Thomas	1213	1242	Richard	1369	1386
Ranulph	1243	1253	John Ross	1386	1392
Thomas Liddell	1265	1276	John Dougan	1395	1412
Nicholas	1276	1304	John Cely*	1403 dep.	1441

* The Anglo-Irish Benedictine bishop, John Cely, was charged with irregularities. His Metropolitan remonstrated with him, and in allusion to a lady in question, Alice Letys, says of her: "Quam olim cognovisti ut concubinam, nunc autem conjugata."—(*Prene's Register*). Rev. Dr. Reeves (*Antiq. Down and Connor*) says she was married to the bishop; but such an

assertion is warranted neither by fact nor the text quoted. He might have been spared so false and awkward a statement either by a moderately accurate knowledge of Catholic discipline in general, or by a better acquaintance with the particular registries which he quotes. For a long time previous to the period under consideration, holy orders were an invalidating impediment to matrimony.—(*Concil. Lateran.* can 21, cap.

	Suc.	Died.
John*	1441	1450
Richard Wolsey†	1451	1451
Robert Rochfort‡	1451	1454

de presbyteris; Labbe, *Concil. X.*, coll. 899; *Gratian*, cap. "Quæ Christo," X. Ep. of Innocent. Again, the *Registries of Armagh*, referred to by Dr. Reeves, describe Alice Letys, not as the bishop's wife, as he foolishly states, but the wife (Alterius) of another.—*Swayn's Register*. Yet on the strength of such false, foolish statements by those consulted as oracles on matters of Church history, many believe in, and prate about, the marriage of priests even in the fifteenth century!

* It is curious how some records give Ralph in the year 1445 (perhaps John had a coadjutor,) and Thomas Pollart in 1447.

† I am at a loss to know how the *I. E. Record* (p. 267), appealing to De Burgo (p. 476) for the appointment of Dr. Wolsey, in 1451, can prolong his reign to 1456, and exclude Dr. Rochfort, because De Burgo expressly states that Wolsey lived but for the shortest time possible after appointment, and had as successor Dr. Rochfort, in 1451, who reigned till 1456. It is equally unaccountable how the *Record* could give Thomas as the successor of Dr. Wolsey.

‡ The Primate, Archbishop Mey, writing to Pope Nicholas, in April, 1451, in regard to Down and Connor, vacant by the death of John, prays that a fit person be appointed to the

	Suc.	Died.
Thomas	1454	—
Thadæus*	1469	1486
Tiberius†	1495	1519
Thadæus	1520	1526
Robert Blyth‡	1526 res.	1540
Eugene M'Gennis	1539	1565
Miles M'Grath, Apost.	1565	1569

Church where St. Patrick, together with SS. Columba and Bridget, "tumulo tumulatur in uno," and recommended Robert Rochfort, of the Order of Preachers, a professed Lector in Sacred Theology in the Order of Priesthood, born in lawful wedlock, eloquent in the English and Irish languages.—*Mey's Registry*, lib. iii., fol. 7 a. This gives countenance to the assertion of De Burgo that Dr. Rochfort was appointed; but we have reason for doubting whether he continued bishop till, as he states, the year 1456, as Roman records speak of Thomas as having received his bulls in 1454 through his advocate, and having promised to pay the usual services within a year, or forfeit the bulls.

* Thady swore obedience to his Metropolitan by laying hands on the breast and looking on the Gospels. The reception of the Blessed Eucharist and touching the Gospels had been an old form of taking an oath common to ecclesiastics.

† Dr. Brady gives an entry in favour of the consecration of Tiberius on 12th March, 1489.

‡ Some registers give Robert in 1520 to Down and Connor, vacant by the death of John.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Donat O'Gallagher	1580	1582	in 1680; Dr. Quilan till 1692; Cormac Shiel from 1704 till 1708; Terence O'Donnelly in 1710, and Vicar-Apost. in 1711. and in 1714.*		
Cornelius O'Devany	1582	1612			
Patrick Hanratty, Vicar	1614	—			
Edmund Dongan	1625	1629	Roger Armstrong	1727	1739
Bonaventure Magennis	1629	1640	Francis Stuart	1740	cir. 1750
Emer M'Mahon	1642 tr.	1647	Edmund O'Doran	1751	1760
Arthur M'Gennis	1647	1652	Theophilus M'Cartan	1760	1778
			Hugh M'Mullen	1779	1794
			Patrick M'Mullen, Coadj.	1793	1824
			William Crolly	1825	tr. 1835
			Cornelius Denvir	1835	1865
			Patrick Dorrian	1860	—

Vicars.

Daniel Mackay 1671 1674

In 1683 Patrick Brin was Vicar-Apos. of Down and Connor, afterwards Dr. Lea, who died in 1710. Of Connor, as well as Down, in 1717, James Shiel was Vicar-Apos. till 1725. In Connor, Patrick Mulderg was V.-G.

* Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i.

RATHLURE.*

	Sat in	Died.		Suc.	Died.
*Maurice O'Coffey	1152	ob. 1173	Thomas Ingilby	1471	—

* It was united to Derry after the resignation of O'Brolcan.

* Brady's *Episcopal Succession*.

DERRY.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Flaherty O'Brolcan*	1158	res. —	Florence O'Cherbalen	1279	1293
Muredach O'Coffey	1152	sat 1173	Henry O'Reghly	1295	1297
Amlave O'Coffey	1173	tr. 1174	Geoffrey M'Loughlin	1297	1315
Florence O'Cherbalen	1185	1230	Odo O'Neill	1316	cir. 1330
Gervase	1230	1279	Maurice	1330	1347
			Simon*	1349	cir. 1395

* O'Brolcan resigned the bishopric of Derry, which became, with Rathlure, one diocese, under Muredach O'Coffey.

* In 1365 the temporalities were given to the Prior de Conall, September 25th, so that John must have died or been set aside then.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
John*	1401	—	Terence Kelly, V.-		
Wm. Quaplod	—	1421	Apost.	1668	—
Donald	1421 res.	1430	Eugene Clopham,		
John	1430 cir.	1456	Proctor	1668	—
Barthol. Flanagan	1458	1463	Patrick Everard,		
Nicholas Weston	1464	1484	V.-Apost.	1671	—
Donald Fallon	1485	1500	Eugene Conwell,		
James M' Mahon	1507	1517	V.-Apost.	1677	—
William Hogeson	1520	1529	Bernard O'Kahan	1683	—
Roderick O'Donnell	1529	1550	Raymund O'Galagher	—	—
Eugene O'Dogherty	1554	1569	Fergus Lawrence		
Redmund O'Galagher	1569	1601	Lea	1694	—
			Terence Donnelly	1720	—
			Neal Conway,	1727	1736
			Michael O'Reilly	1736 tr.	1749
			John Brallaughan	1749	1749
			Patrick Brocan	1749	1760
			John M'Colgan	1752	1766
			Philip M'Devitt	1766	—
			Charles O'Donnell	1798	—
			Adm., Peter		
			M'Loughlin	1818	—
			Appointed	1824	—
			John M'Loughlin,		
			Coadj.	1837	1864
			Edward M'Ginn	1845	1849
			Francis Kelly	1849	—

* Dr. Brady gives entries in favour of the appointment of Corny, in 1401, who undertook to pay arrears of his predecessor, Hugh; of the appointment of another John; then of Simon, of Donald Machuil, in 1415; Eugene, 1429, on resignation of Donald; Nicholas Weston, 1467; and of Rory O'Donnell, 1520.

DROMORE.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
O'Rony	1190 cir.	—	John de Chourles	1410 res.	1418
Gerald	1227	1243	Nicholas Warter	1419	—
Andrew	1245	—	David de Cherburg	—	1427
Tigernagh		sat 1287	Thomas Radcliffe*	1428 cir.	1434
Gervase	1290	—			
Tigernagh	—	1309			
Florence O'Dongan	1309 sat	1325			
Christopher		sat 1369			
Cornelius	—	1381			
John O'Lanniv	1382	—			
John Volcan	— res.	1404			
Richard Messing*	1407	1409			

* Some call him Richard Payl.

* Dr. Brady gives entries in favour of the appointment of David of Cherburg in 1431 to Dromore, vacant by death of William; of the appointment of David Cherburg in 1431, whose predecessor was William; of Thomas Scrope or Bradly, in 1434, of Thomas Radcliffe in 1450; and of George Bran, consecrated in 1483.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Thomas	1437	cir. 1440	Roman Magin was	—	—
Thomas Scrope	1446	res. 1456	V.-Ap. in 1677	—	—
Richard Myssin	1457	—	Patk. O'Donnelly	1697	1716
William Egremond	1462	res. 1467	Maguire	1716	1747
George Bran	1487	tr. 1499	<i>Archbps. of Armagh, Admstr.</i>		
Geleatius	1504	—	Anthony O'Garvey	1747	1763
John Baptiste	1504	—	Denis Maguire	1767	tr. 1770
Thady O'Reilly	1511	sat 1518	Patrick Brady	1770	—
Quintius Coigly	1536	1539	Matthew Lennan	1780	1801
Roger Macciah	1539	1540	Edmund Derry	1801	1819
Arthur M'Gennis	1540	1575	Hugh O'Reilly	1820	1825
Patrick M'Cual	1561	1585	Thomas Kelly	1826	tr. 1832
<i>Vicars.</i>			Michael Blake	1833	res. 1860
Oliver Darcy	1647	1670	John P. Leahy	1854	—
Daniel Mackey	—	cir. 1674			

KILMORE.

Flan O'Connor	—	1231	Stephen de Stra-		
Congolach M'Neil	1231	1250	boniza	1409	—
Simon O'Ruark	1251	1286	Francis Bernard	—	—
Maurice	1286	1307	Nicholas Brady	—	1421
Mat. M'Divney	1307	1314	Donat O'Gabaud	1421	sat 1442
Patk. O'Credigan	1314	1328	Andrew Brady	1445	1436
Cornelius Ford	—	1355	Thady	1456	sat 1464
M'Conama	—	—	John O'Reilly	1464	sat 1470
Richard Reilly	—	1370	Thomas Brady		
Thomas Rushok	1389	—	Cormac M'Cau-	1480 cir. } 1511	
John O'Reilly	—	1393	san•		
Roderick Brady	1396	—	Dermot O'Reilly	1511	1529
			Edmund Nugent†	1530	—
			John Brady	1540	1559

* From Roderick Brady, elected in 1396, others give a different succession from that by the author, as follows:—

Nicholas	died	1421
Donat	suc.	1421 sat 1442
An. M'Brady	„	1453 ob. 1456
Thady	„	1456 sat 1460
Fursey M'Duiv-		
ney	„	— ob. 1464
John	„	1464 sat 1470

The see was removed from Brevny to Kilmore in 1454.

* Very curious that both were called bishops of Kilmore in a synod held at Ardee in 1448. It arose from the difficulty of deciding between the respective claims, and the fact that both were declared properly elected.

† On the appointment of a successor he is not mentioned, because he surrendered his priory to Henry VIII.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Hugh O'Sheridan	1560	1579	Laurence Richard-		
Richard Brady	1580	1607	son	1747	1753
			Andrew Campbell	1753	1769
			Denis M'Guire	1770 cir.	1794
			Charles Reilly,		
			Coadj.	1793	1800
			James Dillon	1800	1806
			Fergall O'Reilly	1806	1829
			Patrick M'Guire,		
			Coadj.	1818	1826
			James Browne	1827	1865
			Nicholas Conaty,		
			Coadj.	1865	—

* In 1669 Thomas Simons was appointed as V.-G. of it, and recommended as Vicar-Apost. in 1672, but not appointed. The Bishop of Clogher was adm. in the year 1678. In 1703 Dr. Brady was V.-G., and Bernard Brady in 1709, and James

Brady was V.-G. in 1710. The Bishop of Clogher was adm. in 1711.

MEATH.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Eleutherius O'Me-			Stephen de Valle	1369	1379
adhain	—	1174	Wm. Anderdon	1380	1385
Eugene	1174	1194	Alexander Petit	1386	1400
Simon Rochfort	1194	1224	Robert Montan	1402	1412
Deodat	1224	1226	Edward Dantsey	1413	1429
Ralph Petit	1227	1230	William Hadson	1430	1434
Richd. de la Corner	1230?	1250	William Silk	1434	1450
Hugh de Tagh-			Edward Ouldhall	1450	1459
mon*	1254	1281	Wm. Sherwood	1460	1482
Thomas St. Leger	1286	1320	John Payne	1483	1506
John O'Carroll	1321 tr.	1327	William Rokeby	1507 tr.	1511
William de Paul	1327	1349	Hugh Inche	1512 tr.	1522
William St. Leger	1349	1352	Richard Wilson	1523	1529
Nicholas Allen	1353	1366	Edward Staples	1529 dep.	1554
			William Walsh	1554	1577

* It was only in this year the disputed appointment of Hugh was confirmed by the Pope.

The seal of the clergy of Meath was a cross.

The legend ran thus: "Sigil. Universitatis: Cleri: Medensis."

Under Vicars.

Thomas Dease	1621	1652
Anthony M'Gheo-		
ghan	1657 res.	1664
Oliver Dease, V.G.	1664	1669
Patrick Plunket	1669	1679
James Cusack	1679	1685

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Patrick Tyrrell	1689	1692	Patrick Plunket	1778	1827
Luke Fagan	1713	tr. 1729	Robert Logan,		
Stephen M'Egan	1729	1756	Coadj.	1824	1830
Augustine Chee-			John Gantwell	1830	1866
vers	1756	1778	Thomas Nulty,		
Eugene Geoghan,			Coadj.	1864	—
Coadj.	1771	—			

RAPHOE.

Gilbert O'Caran	sat 1160	tr. 1276	Menelaus O'Cor-		
Maelisa O'Dorrigh	1203	sat —	macan	1484	res. 1514
Patrick O'Scanlan	—	res. 1261	Cornelius O'Cahan	1514	post 1532
John de Alneto	1263	tr. 1265	Edmund O'Gal-		
Carbra O'Scoba*	1266	1275	lagher	1534	cir. —
Florence O'Ferrall	1275	1299	Art. O'Gallagher	1547	1561
Thos. O'Nathain	1299	1306	Donald M'Congail	1562	1589
Henry M'Crossan	1306	1319	Niall O'Boyle	1591	1611
Thos. O'Donnell	1319	1337	Dr. John O'Cull-		
Patrick M'Gonnail			inan, V.-Apost.	1621	—
(ante)	1360	1366	John O'Cullinan	1625	1661
Richd. M'Crossan	1366	—	Louis Gallagher,		
John	1397	1397	V.-G.	1683	—
Cornelius M'Cor-			F., Bp. of Derry,		
maic	1397	1399	was Adm.	1695	—
Anthony	1399	1413	Jas. O'Gallagher	1725	tr. 1737
Robert Mubire	1414	—	Daniel Bonav.		
John M'Cormaic	1415	1419	O'Gallagher	1737	1749
Laurence O'Gal-			Anthony O'Don-		
chor	1420	1438	nell	1750	1755
John M'Gilbride	1438	—	Nathaniel O'Don-		
Cornelius	1440	—	nell	1755	—
Laurence O'Gal-			Philip O'Reilly	1759	1780
chor†	1469	1477	Anthony Coyle	1777	1803
			Jas Dillon, Coadj.	1796	tr. 1801
			John M'Elroy	1801	1801
			Peter M'Loughlin	1802	res. 1819
			Patk. M'Ettigan,	1820	1861
			Coadj.	1856	tr. 1870
			James M'Devitt	1871	ob. 1879
			Michael Logue	1879	—

* *Hib. Dom.* is not correct in giving his accession in 1267.

† Dr. Brady's *Episcopal Succession* gives Dr. Galchor as elected in 1443.

DUBLIN.

	Suc.	Died.			
Laurence O'Toole	1162	1180	Luke	1228	1255
John Comyn	1182	1212	Frederick, or Fulk		
Henry Loundres	1213	1228	de Saundford	1256	1271
			John Derlington	1279	1284

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
John de Saundford	1285	1294	Donald	—	—
Wm. de Hothun	1296	1297	Matthew d'Oviedo	1600	1609
Richd. de Ferrings	1299	1306	Eugene Matthews	1611	1622
Richd. Havering	1306 res.	1309	Thomas Fleming*	1623	1655
John Lech	1310	1313	Peter Talbot	1669	1680
Alex. Becknor	1317	1349	Patrick Russell	1683	1692
John de St. Paul	1350	1362	Peter Creagh	1693	1707
Thomas Minot*	1363	1375	Edmund Byrne	1707	1723
Robert de Wike-			Edward Murphy	1724	1729
ford	1375	1390	Luke Fagan	1729	1734
Robert Waldby	1391	1395	John Linegar	1734	1757
Richd. Northall	1396	1397	Richard Lincoln	1757	1763
Thomas Cranley	1397	1417	Patk. Fitzsimons	1763	1769
Richard Talbot	1417	1449	John Carpenter	1770	1786
Michael Tregury	1449	1471	John Thos. Troy	1786	1823
John Walton	1472 res.	1484	Daniel Murray	1823	1852
Walter Fitzsimons	1484	1511	Paul Cullen	1852	1879
William Rokeby	1511	1521	Edward M'Cabe,		
Hugh Inge	1521	1528	Coadj.	1878	—
John Alan†	1528	1534	Do.	1879 suc.	—
Hugh Curwin	1555 dep.	—			

* The motto of the earliest seal met with is a steeple in the hands of a bishop, in allusion to the one built by Minot.

† He got, in 1531, Richard Gama as Coadjutor.

* James Dempsey
was Vicar-Apost. 1666 —
Nicholas Eustace 1667 —
John Murphy,
V.-G. 1668 —
Gerard Tellin, Vicar-
Apost. 1681 1682

FERNS.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Joseph O'Hethai	1155	1185	Thomas O'Dea*	1363	1400
Albin O'Mulloy	1186	1222	Patrick Barrett	1400	1415
John St. John	1223	1243	Robert Whitty†	1418	1458
Geoffrey St. John	1243	1258	John Purcell	1457	1479
Hugh Lamport	1258	1282			
Richard of North-					
ampton	1282	1303	* Some give Anthony Villa-		
Simon Evesham	1304	1304	nova as successor to O'Dea.		
Robert Walrand	1305	1311	† Yet some entries give Don-		
Adam of North-			ald Recry, "bishop elect," in		
ampton	1312	1346	1419. The legend of the first		
Geoffrey Groseld	1347	1348	seal met with is "Sigillum:		
William Charnels	1350	1362	Nichi : Dei : Gratia : Fernensis :		
			1512."		

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Laurence Neville	1479	1503	Nicholas French	1646	1678
Edmund Comerford	1505	1509	Luke Wadding	1684 cir.	—
Nicholas Comyn	1509 tr.	1519	Michael Rossiter*	1697	1709
John Purcell	1519	1539	John Verdun	1709 cir.	1728
Bernard O'Donnell	1541 tr.	1541	Ambrose O'Callaghan	1729	1744
Gabriel de St. Levo	1541	1566	Nicholas Sweetman	1745	1786
Alex. Devereux*	1554	1580	John Stafford, Coadj.	1772	1781
Peter Power	1582	1587	James Caulfield, Coadj.	1786	1814
<i>Vicars.</i>			Patrick Ryan, Coadj.	1814	1819
John Roche	1624	1626	James Keating	1819	1849
John Roche	1645	1646	Myles Murphy	1849	1856
* Though a stain attaches to the legitimacy of Devereux, having been appointed by Henry VIII., and consecrated by Browne, yet he is mentioned as the predecessor of Dr. Power by the Vatican Registries.			Thomas Furlong	1857	1875
			Michael Warren	1876	—
			* Dr. Rossiter was V.-Capit. in 1692.		

GLEN DALOUGH.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Kined O'Ronan	1166 sat	1173	A bishop* sat	1501	—
Malachy	1179	—	* Some mention a Franciscan Friar as occupying the see in the above year, and a certain Denis, who had usurped it for some years, till, touched in conscience, he resigned all claims to it.		
William Piro	—	1214			
Denis	1481	—			
John	—	1494			
Ivo Russi	1494	1495			
John	1495	—			

KILDARE.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Malachy O'Brien*	—	1176			
Nehemiah	1177	1195	Cornelius Magelany	1206	1222
* There is extant a letter from this bishop, ending with words of esteem, " <i>in Christo.</i> " The legend of the earliest seal known is " <i>Sigillum Edmundi Dei gratia Darenensis Epi, 1495.</i> " See <i>Caulfield.</i>			Ralph of Bristol	1223	1232
			John of Taunton	1233	1258
			Simon of Kilkenny	1258	1272
			Nicholas Cusack	1279	1299
			Walter de Veele	1299	1332
			Richard Hulot	1333	1352
			Thomas Gifford	1352	1365

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Robert of Askeaton	1366	1368	Thomas Dillon	1523	1529
Richard Rokum	—	1400	Walter Walsh	1529	1540
George	—	1401	Donald O'Bechan	1540	1540
Henry of Wessenbarch	1401	—	Thady Reynold	1540	1555
Thomas	—	1405	Thomas Severons	1555	1577
Donald Ricy	1419	—	Roche M'Gheoghan*	1629	1644
John Maddock	—	1431	Dr. Forstall	1676	1682
William	1432	1446	Edward Wesley	1683 cir.	1693
Geoffrey Hereford*	1449	1464	John Dempsey	1694	—
Richard Lang	1464	1474	Edward Murphy	—	—
David	1474	1474	was V.-G. in	1713	—
James Wall	1475	—	Edward Murphy	1715	1724
William Barrett	—	res. 1482	Bernard Dunne	1724 cir.	1733
Donald O'Folough†	—	1500	Stephen Dowdal	1733	1737
Edward Lane‡	1482	1522	James Gallagher	1737	1752
			James O'Keefe	1751	1787
			Daniel Delany	1787	1814
			Michael Corcoran	1815	1819
			James Doyle	1819	1834
			Edward Nolan	1834	1837
			Francis Healy	1837	1855
			James Walshe	1856	—
			James Lynch,	—	—
			Coadj.	1869	—

* Some place his election in 1443.

† A far different list is given by Stanihurst and the *Red Book of Kildare* :—

Lonius, Simon, Maddock,
Ivorius, Nicholas, William,
Conlius, Walter, Geoffrey,
Donat, Richard, Richard,
David, Thomas, Jas. Wall,
Magnus, Robert, Barrett,
Richard, Boniface, Edmd. Lane
John.

‡ Some place the death of Dr. Lane to the year 1513, and make Dr. Dillon succeed in 1526, and die in 1529; and

Peter Stoll succeed in 1529, by death of Thomas, and die in 1532.

* In 1621. Donald Dowling, Vicar-Apost.

1628. James Talbot.

1661. Abbe Geraldine, Superintendent.

1671. James Dempsey, Vicar-Apost.

LEIGHLIN.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Donat	1158	1185	Thomas	1252	1275
John	1199	1201	Nicholas Chevers	1276	1309
Herlewin	1201	1216	Maurice of Blank-		
Richard Fleming	1217	1226	ville	1309	1320
William	1227	1251	Miles de Power	1320 sat	1346

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Wm. St. Leger	—	1348	Thomas Halsay	1515 sat	1521
Thomas of Bracken-			Maurice Doran	1524	1525
burg	1349	1360	Matthew Saun-		
John Young	1363	1371	ders*	1527	1541
Philip Peter*	1371	—	Thos. Leverons	1541 tr.	1555
John Griffin†	1385 res.	1399	Thomas O'Fihely	1555	1566
Richard Rocomb	1400	1420	Wm. O'Fihely	—	—
De Burgo	1420	—	Francis de Ribeira	1587	1604
John Mulgan	1420	1431			
Thomas Fleming	1432	1458			
Milo Roche‡	1458	1489			
Nicholas Maguire	1490	1512			

* Some give Gregory as bishop before Griffin.

† In 1389 Richard II. wrote to the Irish Deputy to have the Bishop of Leighlin get Gatrotheston, in the county of Dublin, which belonged to the Bishop of Killaloe, because all his own country had been plundered, and no place left to shelter him, and as the Bishop of Killaloe lived among the enemy and did not observe the English law. The legend on the seal was "Sigli. Nichi. Dei gratia Leiglinensis. 1495."

‡ Some entries make Milo resign in 1467, and succeed to Ferns on the death of Diarmit.

Vicars.

Matthew Roche	} 1629	—
V.-Apost.		} 1633
Edmund Dempsey	1642 cir.	1661

Vicars.

Edward Wesley, Bp. of Kildare, was Adm.	1694	—
John Dempsey was Adm., and ever since has been united to Kildare	1694	—

* Some Roman entries make Dr. Saunders succeed Thomas, formerly Bishop of Leighlin, whereas it is known that Maurice Doran's murder, by his archdeacon, made room for his election.

OSSORY.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Donald O'Fogarty	1152 sat	1178	William of Kilkenny	1229 res.	1232
Felix O'Dullany	1178	1202	Walter de Brack-		
Hugh Rufus	1202	1218	all	1232	1243
Peter Mannesin*	1220	1229	Geoffrey Turville	1244	1250

* I am surprised that the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* could find no fault with Harris' list (p. 563) till the year 1367, for Harris dates the appointment of Dr. Mannesin at 1218, which

did not take place till the year 1220, by appointment of the Pope, who dispensed him in an irregularity, "defectu natalium."

	Suc.	Died.
Hugh Mapleton	1251	1256
Hugh	1257	1259
Geoffrey St. Leger	1260	1286
Roger of Wexford	1287	1289
Michael of Exeter	1289	1302
Wm. FitzJohn	1301 res.	1317
Richard Ledred	1317	1360
John Tatenal*	1361	1370

	Suc.	Died.
Alexander Petis	1371 tr.	1386
Richard Northalis	1386 tr	1395

* Some persons give two bishops, John and William, between John in 1361, and Alexander in 1371.—*I. E. Record*, No. 12. Such persons assert that William died in 1369, and that John Tatenal was appointed in 1370, and died *before Christmas* in that year; but he must not have died *after August*, because we learn from the Bull of Gregory XI. that his successor, Alexander Petis, was appointed during the pontificate of Urban V., who died 19th September, 1370; and as we may suppose that a month at least elapsed between the appointment of Alexander and death of his predecessor, we must put his death back to at least 19th of August. Therefore, without strong evidence, I will not suppose that there were from the beginning of the year till August an appointment to a bishopric, and a death, and another election. Whereas nothing is strained in supposing that the John who was appointed in 1361 reigned till 1370: the Papal Bull appointing Alexander Petis Bishop of Ossory in 1371 assures us that his predecessor was John; and therefore the John appointed in 1316 was in possession, and reigned, pre-

sumably till 1370, unless we can show that others intervened. Again, it is admitted that John of Tatenal, or Taghnal, was an Augustinian, and a foreigner. Now, we have evidence from the Bull of Innocent VI., in appointing Bishop John in 1361, that he was at the Court of Avignon, and probably elected by the Pope without the consent of the Chapter. This makes it probable that he was the foreign Augustinian. Now, there is not the same or any evidence for making the supposed John of 1370 a foreigner, and appointed solely by the Pope, abstracting from the authority of the Augustinian annals, which are contradicted expressly by the annals of St. Mary's, Dublin. These stated that John of Tatenal was elected in 1361, and died 1370. Not at all unlikely that about this time, in England, when the dioceses of the *Pale* were represented by their bishops or others, the Bishop of Ossory deputed William as proxy, and that he was on that account mistaken for the bishop; and as Gregory XI. stated that the predecessor of Alexander had been John, there was a necessity of crushing one between William and Alexander.

The first seal met with is dated 1512: "Sigill: Oliveri: Ossoriensis: 1512." The motto is a Virgin and Child, and underneath a kneeling bishop in pontificals.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Thomas Peverell	1395	tr. 1398			
John Wultham	1398	tr. 1399			
John Griffin	1399	1400			
John	1400	1400			
Roger of Appleby	1400	1402			
John Walter	1402	cir. 1408			
Thomas Snell	1403	1417			
Patrick Ragged	1417	1421			
Denis O'Dea	1421	1427			
Thomas Barry	1427	1429			
David Hackett	1460	1478			
Richd. Winchelsea	479	res. 1479			
John O'Hedian	1479	1487			
Oliver Cantwell	1487	1527			
Milo Fitzgerald	1527	1550			
John Thonery	1554	1567			
<i>Vicars.</i>					
Thomas Strong	1582	1602			

Vicars.

David Rothe	1618	1650
James Phelan	1664	cir. 1695
William Dalton	1696	cir. 1712
Malachy O'Delany	1713	cir. 1730
Patrick O'Shea	1731	cir. 1735
Colman O'Shaughnessy	1736	cir. 1748
James Dunne	1748	1758
Thomas De Burgo	1759	1776
John Thos. Troy	1776	tr. 1786
John Dunne	1787	1789
James Lanigan	1789	1812
Kyran Marum	1814	1827
William Kinsella	1829	1845
Edward Walsh	1846	1872
Patrick Moran	1871	—

CASHEL •

Donald O'Hologhan	1158	1182	Matthew O'Heney	1192	1206
Maurice	1182	1191	Donat O'Lonegan	1206	1215
			Donat O'Lonegan	1216	res. 1223
			Marian O'Brien	1224	1238
			David Kelly	1238	1252
			David M'Carroll	1254	1289
			Stephen O'Brogan	1290	1302
			Maurice M'Carwell	1303	1316
			Wm. Fitz John	1317	1326
			John O'Carroll	1327	1329
			Walter Rede	1330	1330
			John O'Grada	1332	1345
			Ralph Kelly	1346	1361
			George Roche	1362	1363
			Thomas Carroll	1365	1373
			Philip Torrington	1374	1350
			Peter Hackett	1384	1406
			Richard O'Hedian	1406	1440
			William of Ossory	—	sat 1441
			John Cantwell	1450	1482
			David Creagh	1483	1503
			Maurice Fitz Gerald	1504	1523
			Edmund Butler	1524	1551

* A seal of the archdiocese, representing a pontiff, with crosier in left hand, while the right was raised in benediction, is as old as 1303. Another, somewhat older, has : "Ave Maria gratia plena." It was executed for Archbishop Ralph, who died in 1361. The seal of the Chapter is as old as 1315. On the seal of Marian O'Brien, who succeeded in 1224, is : "Marian. Dei. Gratia. Casselensis Archiep.," and on the reverse is : "Offer opem servo Virgo Maria tuo." The seal of O'Hedian, in 1406, represents an archbishop in pontificals, with a shield on either side, under a rich canopy. —See Caulfield, on *Episcopal Seals, &c.*

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Roland Baron	1553	1561	John Brennan	1676	1692
Maurice M'Gibbon	1567	1578	Edwd. Comerford	1695	1710
Dermit O'Hurley	1581 mar.	1584	Chris. Butler	1711	1757
<i>Vicars.</i>			James Butler	1757	1774
David Kearney	1603	1625	James Butler	1774	1791
Thomas Walsh	1626	1654	Thomas Bray	1792	1820
Wm. Burgatt*	1669	1674	Patrick Everard	1820	1822
			Robert Laffan	1823	1833
			Michael Slattery	1833	1857
			Patrick Leahy	1857	1875
			Thos. W. Croke	1875	—

* In 1666 John De Burgo was V.-Apost. of Cashel and Killaloc.

ARDFERT.

	Suc.	Died.			
Donald O'Con-			Nicholas	1288	1336
aghty	—	1193	Allen O'Hethera	1336	1347
David	1193 cir.	1207	John De Valle	1348	1372
Gilbert*	cir. 1216 res.	1237	Cornelius O'Tigher-		
Brendan	1237 res.	1252	nagh	1372	1379
Christian†	1253	1256	William Ball	1379 sat	1382
Philip	—	1266	Nicholas Fitzmau-		
John‡	1264	1285	rice	1408 sat	1431
Nicholas	1285	1287	Maurice Stack	1450	1463
			John Stack	1464 ante	1478
			Philip*	1478 ante	1495
			John Fitzgerald	1495	—
			Jas. Fitzmaurice	1536	1583
			Michl. FitzWalter	1591	1610
			Richard Connell†	1641	1650
			Denis Moriarty‡	1722	1739
			Owen O'Sullivan	1739	—

* A bishop, whose name began with *E*, resigned, to whom Honorius III. allowed the use of the *Pontificalia*.

† Christian was a Dominican, and a native of "*Trahili*" (Tralee).

‡ Some give:—

Dionysius as Bishop of Aghadoe in	1226
Gilbert „ „	1306
Robert „ „	1426
Thomas Barrett „ „	1449

All of them are represented as suffragan or coadjutor bishops in England. Under the year 1321, John Camere is given as Bishop of Ardfert by some, and of Enaghdune by others, but living and officiating as coadjutor to an English bishop.

* Roman entries give Maurice Maynard in 1482.

† In 1611 Richard Connell was Vicar-Apost. of Ardfert. It was governed by Vicars till 1641. Denis Moriarty 1722 1739

‡ In 1676 Ambrose Power was V.-G.

In 1695 Donat Moriarty Vicar-Apost. of Ardfert.

In 1699, Dr. Eneas O'Lejne was appointed Vicar-Apost. of Aghadoe, in room of Cornelius O'Daly, deceased.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
William O'Meara	1743	tr. 1753	Charles Sughrue	1797	1824
Nicholas Madget	1753	1774	Cornelius Egan	1824	1856
Francis Moylan	1775	1787	David Moriarty	1856	1878
Gerald Teahan	1787	1797	Daniel M'Carthy	1878	—

CLOYNE.

Matthew O'Mon- gagh	1171	cir. 1192	Maurice O'Sulli- van	1320	1333
Laurence O'Sulli- van	—	1204	John de Cumba	1333	—
Daniel	1216	1222	John Brid	—	cir. 1351
Florence	1224	—	John Whittock	1351	1361
Patrick	1226	—	John de Swafham	1363	tr. 1375
David M'Kelly	—	tr. 1237	Richard Wye	1376	tr. 1394
Alan O'Sullivan	1240	tr. 1248	Gerald Canton	1394	sat 1407
Daniel	1248	1264	Adam Pay	1413	1430
Reginald	1265	1273	Jordan*	1430	—
Alan O'Lonergan	1274	1283			
Nicholas de Eting- ham*	1284	1320			

* A bishop in pontificals, 1289, is the motto of the earliest seal.

* The Patent Rolls of Henry VI. state that the temporalities of the diocese were entrusted to the Bishop of Ardfert and one Cormack, Cleric, in 1432, being vacant by the death of Adam, late bishop.

CORK.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Gilla Oda O'Mu- gen	1152	1172	Philip of Slane	1321	1326
Gregory	1172	1186	Walter de Rede	1327	tr. 1329
Reginald	—	1204	John of Ballincon- ningham	1330	1347
O'Silbaig	—	1205	John Roch	1347	1358
Marian O'Brien	—	tr. 1224	Gerald Barry	1359	1393
Gilbert	1225	1238	Roger Ellesmere	1396	1406
Laurence	1238	1264	Gerald	1406	—
William	1266	—	Patrick Ragged, or Foxe	cir. 1415	tr. 1417
Reginald	1267	1276	Milo FitzJohn*	1418	—
Walter M'Donagh	*1277	1301	John Pasten	1425	—
John M'Carwell	1302	tr. 1321			

* Harris calls him Robert, and Smith, Richard.—*History of Cork*.

* Some Roman entries give Patrick Foxe, then Gerald, then Roger Ellesmere, then Milo in 1409.

CORK AND CLOYNE (*United*).

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Jordan Purcell	1430	cir. 1464	William Roche	1479 res.	1490
Gerald Fitzgerald	*1464	cir. 1479	Thady Macar*	1490	1492
			Gerald	— res.	1499
			John FitzEd-		
			mund†	1499	1517
			Patrick	1521(?)	1522
			John Bennet	1522	1536
			Lewis M'Namara	1540	1540
			John O'Heyne	1540	—
			Nicholas Sandes	1568 cir.	1574
			Edmund Tanner	1574	1579
			Dermod M'Craghel	1580 cir.	1606
			Robert Meagh was		
			Vicar-Apost.	1620	—
			William Terry	1622	1640
			Robert Barry	1647 cir.	1666
			Dominick Roch was		
			V.-G. in	1666	—
			Peter Creagh	1676 tr.	1693
			John Baptist		
			Sleyne	1693	1712
			Donat M'Carthy	1712	1726
			Thadaeus M'Car-		
			thy	1727	1747

* William Roche, by false representations and uncanonical practices, got himself consecrated Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, but the Pope being made acquainted with the case annulled his election. This happened in the lifetime of old Bishop Jordan. I cannot understand how the *I. E. Record* (p. 311) states that Roche's election is to be dated from 1462, which had been declared null, nor can Gerald Fitzgerald be said to have succeeded in January, either in 1462 or 1463, nor can Jordan, the old bishop, be said to have resigned, because in May, 1463, Pope Pius II. wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel to have Gerald Fitzgerald set aside and his consecration prevented, for he and Roche had been "sat excommunicationis suspensionis, interdicti et privationis suorum beneficiorum omnium, quae obtinent et inhabitationis," etc. Gerald was appointed bishop, however, within twelve months after, and Paul II. confirmed his appointment, and protected him against the annoyance of Roche by a letter directed to the Archbishop of Cashel in 1470, and not 1471, as stated by the *I. E. Record* (p. 311).

The seal represents a bishop in pontificals, on horseback. At his back a cross; overhead a

demi-figure of another bishop giving benediction, and beneath an animal resembling a dragon. An. 1514.

* He is styled and honoured as the "Blessed" by the Church of Ivrea (Piedmont), where he died.

† It is by a strange manipulation of figures the *I. E. Record* (313) makes FitzEdmund govern the united dioceses for twenty-one years, and yet makes the years 1499 and 1417 the terms of his administration.

CORK.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died
Richard Walsh	1747	1763	Florence M'Carthy,		
John Butler Dun-			Coadj.	1803	1810
boyne	1763	1787	John Murphy	1815	1847
Francis Moylan	1787	1815	William Delany	1847	—

CLOYNE AND ROSS (*United*).

John O'Brien	1748	1766	Wm. Coppinger	1791	1830
Mat. M'Kenna	1767	1791	Michael Collins	1830	1832
Simon Quin,			Barth. Crotty	1833	1846
Coadj.	1779	—	David Walsh	1847	1849

CLOYNE.

Timothy Murphy	1849	1856	John M'Carthy	1874	—
William Keane	1857	1874			

EMLY.

O'Meistia	—	1172	John Riskberry	1422 res.	1422
Chas. O'Bucalla	1177	1177	Robert Windele	1422 cir.	1425
Isaac O'Hamery	—	—	Thomas Burke	1425	1444
Reginald O'Flanna	1192 ante	1197	Cornelius O'Cun-		
Henry	1212	1227	lis*	1444 res.	1448
John Collingham	1228	1236	Cornelius O'Mul-		
Christian	1236	1250	ledy	1448	—
Gilbert O'Doherty	1251	1265	Wm. O'Hedian	1459 sat	1468
Florence of Emly	1266	1271			
Matt O'Gorman	1272	1275			
David Casey	1275	1281			
Wm. de Clifford*	1286	1306			
Thomas Canloek	1306	1308			
Wm. Rogened	1309	1335			
Richd. de Welsh	1335	1355			
John Edmund	1356	1362			
David Fonlyn	1362	1362			
William	1363	1377			
Nicholas Ball†	1406	1422			

* Harris is wrong in reference to the accession of this prelate.

† Some give after William's death, in 1377, John Riskberry, Nicholas, Thomas Burke. John Riskberry, not having released the Bulls, resigned. He was a Franciscan.

* In the year 1444, October 1st, Eugene IV. confirmed Cornelius in the see of Emly (and in the parts usurped for some time by Robert, an Englishman), which had been held by his predecessor, Thomas, for nineteen years. This, then, puts the accession of Dr. Burke to the year 1425, and corrects a statement in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in reference to the see of Emly.

The motto of the first seal met with is a bishop, moving staff in hand, towards a cathedral, over a pastoral scene.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Philip	1477	1494	Maurice Hurley	1620 cir.	1649
Donat O'Brien*	1494	—	Terence Albert		
Thomas Hurley	1507	1542	O'Brien, martyr	1647	1651
Raymund De Burgh	1551	1562			
Maurice O'Brient†	1567	1586			
			<i>Vicars.</i>		
			James Stretch	1695	—

* Some entries give Charles O'Brien as bishop in 1495.

† Some give a James Kearney in 1592.

Since 1718 it has been united to and governed by Cashel.

KILLALOE.*

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Thady O'Lonergan	—	1161	Thomas O'Cormacan	1355	1382
Donat O'Brien	—	1165	Math. M'Grath*	1389 sat	1400
Constantine O'Brien	1165	1194	Donat	1400	—
Dermot O'Coning	1195 dep.	1195	Robt. Mulfield	1409 ante	1428
Charles O'Heney	1195 post.	1209	Donough M'Grath	1428 sat	1429
Conor O'Heney	1212 ante	1215	Eugene O'Falan	1429	1430
David†	1216	1225	Thady M'Grath	1430 ante	1441
Donald O'Heney	1226 cir.	1228	James O'Loner- gan	1441 ante	1451
Donald Kennedy	1228 cir.	1252	Terence O'Brien	1451 ante	1460
Isaac O'Cormacan	1253 res.	1267	John M'Caoch	1460	1461
Matthew Hogan	1267	1281	Maurice Casey	1461	1462
Maurice Hogan	1281	1298	Dermod M'Grath	1462	1463
David M'Mahon	1299	1316	Matthew O'Griffy	1463	1483
Thomas O'Cormacan	1316	1321	Terence O'Brien	1483	1525
Benedict O'Cosery	1322	1325			
David of Emly	1326	1342			
Thomas O'Hogan	1343	1354			

* The first seal met with dates as far back as 1313. On it are the names of Bishop David, and Benedict, dean, and a representation of the Oratory of St. Flannan.

† Owing to opposition from the English justiciary, he was not consecrated till the year 1222.

* Donat was deprived in 1418, was succeeded by O'Falan, and he by Thady M'Grath, in 1423.—Dr. Brady's *Succession, &c.* Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin, give two other lists of bishops from Matthew M'Grath to Dermot M'Grath, in 1462. They differ in the names of bishops and years of their accession from those in the text, but are less reliable.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.*	Died.
Jas. O'Currin*	} 1526 res. cir.	1539	Dermit O'Brien	1542	—
			Theodoric O'Brien	1554	—
			Malachy Molony	1571	tr. 1576
			Cornelius Ryan	1576	1616
1617-1630. <i>Under-Vicars.</i>					
			Jno. O'Molony (1)*	1630	1651
			Dionysius Harty was		
			Vicar-Apost. in 1668		—
			John De Burgo hav-		
			ing been such in 1666		—
			John Molony (2)	1671	—
			trans. in	1698	—
			And still Adm. of		
			Killaloe	—	1702
			Eustace Brown	1713 dep.	1723
			Sylvester Loyd	1728	tr. 1739
			Patk. M'Donogh	1739	—
			William O'Mara	1743	—
			Patk. O'Naghten	1752	—
			Nicholas Madgett	1752	tr. 1753
			William O'Meara	1753	—
			Michael Peter		
			M'Mahon	1765	1807
			James O'Shaugh-		
			nessy	1798	1828
			Patrick M'Mahon	1829	1836
			Patrick Kennedy	1836	1850
			Daniel Vaughan	1851	1859
			Michael Flannery	1858	—
			Nicholas Power,		
			Coadj.	1864	1871
			Jas. Ryan, Coadj.	1871	—

* Some give a bishop, Thady, in 1523, but he must have been either only nominated and not confirmed, or a coadjutor for a short time; others give Richard Hogan in place of O'Currin; while a Terence O'Brien is made to succeed immediately James O'Currin, by Dr. Brady, without grounds, in my judgment. It was usual in Rome to ignore the existence of any bishop deprived. Hence, in appointing Dr. Hogan in 1539, O'Currin is ignored, being under a cloud (though acknowledged by-and-by, on the appointment of Theodorick O'Brien, in 1554), the see "being vacant by the death of Theodorick O'Brien" (appointed in 1482), which would go to prove that the Thady spoken of for 1523 was not bishop.

Dr. O'Currin must, presumably, have been married before his consecration. Edmund Sexton, Mayor of Limerick, in 1535, besides his other services, on being informed that the Bishop of Killaloe, with two of his sons, were at a certain place, whereunto the said Edmund repaired, issuing out of the said city about midnight to have taken them; but they, having more knowledge thereof, fled and escaped. The said Edmund took their horses and returned home again. —Ware's *MS.*, v. 75. Again, on the appointment of Dermit O'Brien in 1542, James O'Currin is styled *modernus Episcopus*: so it is not easy to say whe-

ther from Rome or the King pressure came on him for his resignation. Dr. Hogan, Bishop of Clonmacnois, was appointed in 1539 Adm. of Killaloe.

* The *MS. History of the Irish Bishops*, by Dr. Lynch, in speaking of Dr. Molony, states that as St. Augustine died during the siege of Hippo, he died in Limerick a few days before its surrender to Ireton.

LIMERICK.

	Suc.	Died		Suc.	Died.
Turgesius	sat 1152	—	William Creagh	1459	1472
Briccius	— sat 1179	—	Thomas Arthur*	1472	1484
Donat O'Brien	—	1207	Richd. Stackpool†	1484	1484
Geoffrey	— sat 1217	—	John Dunning	1484	1485
Edmund	—	1222	John Folan	1489	1521
Hubert De Burgh	1222	1250	John Quin	1521 dep.	1551
Robert of Emly	1251	1272	Hugh Lacy‡	1556	1580
Gerald de Marschall	1272	1301	Cornelius O'Neil	1582	1591
Robert of Dondovanald	1302	1311	Richard Arthur	1620	1646
Eustace de L'Ean	1311	1336	Edmund O'Dwyer,		
Maurice Rochfort	1337	1353	Coadj.	1646	1654
Stephen Lawles	1354	1359			
Stephen Valle	1360 tr.	1369	<i>Vicars.</i>		
Peter Creagh	1369 res.	1400	James Dowley	1676	1684
Cornelius O'Dea*	1400 res.	1426	J. O'Molony,		
John Mothel	} 1426 res. 1457 cir.	1457	Adm.	1688	1702
Thomas†		1457	1459		

* It must be a mere mistake, and a very unusual one in an otherwise so very correct a writer, on the part of Mr. Lenihan (*Hist. of Limerick*, p. 569) to say that O'Dea succeeded in 1405. The inscription of Dr. O'Dea's crozier has: "Me fieri fecit Corneli O'Deaigh. Eps. Limirecens. ao. doi. m'ccccviii. et consecrationis suæ anno xviii."

† Thomas, an Augustinian, was appointed in 1456 by Pope Calixtus III., on the supposition that John Mothel was dead, and was set aside on its being known that John was alive and opposed to the election. However, in 1457, he is addressed by the Pope as Venerable Brother, Bishop of Limerick, devoted to the Holy See, and got special favours from the Pope.

* It is not quite correct to assign the death of Dr. Arthur to 1486, because Innocent VIII., writing in July, 1485, speaks of him as dead, and had appointed a successor in the person of Richard Stackpool, aged 24 years, but till he attained the age of 28 was not to be consecrated.

According to some Dr. Arthur succeeded in the year 1467.

The legend on the seal of the bishop was: "Sigillum. Johannis, Episcopi. Limericensis." He succeeded in 1426. That of the chapter was: "Sig. Deca: et: Capit: Ecc. Cath. B. Mar. Virg. Limk."

† It is equally incorrect to date the succession of Dr. Stackpool in any other than the year 1484. He and Dr. Dunning were appointed in the year 1484.

‡ Some give Macraha, others Nachten, as successor to Dr. Lacy.—See Lenihan's *Hist. of Limerick*.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
<i>Vicars.</i>					
Bonaventure Oliver			Denis Conway	1779	1796
Fitzgerald recom-			John Young,		
mended	1714	—	Coadj.	1792	1814
Cornelius O'Keefe	1720	1737	Charles Toohey	1814	1828
Robert Lacy	1738	1759	John Ryan, Coadj.	1825	1864
Daniel O'Kearney	1759	1778	George Butler	1864	—

INISCATHY.*

Hugh O'Beachain	—	1188	Thomas	1361 sat	1363
Charles O'Heny†					
sat	1193	—			

was united to Killaloe, and that, perhaps, he was not a different person from the Charles O'Heny who succeeded as Bishop of Killaloe in 1195.

* See vol. ii., p. 104.

† It may be that it was under his administration Iniscathy

LISMORE.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Christian O'Con-	} 1150	res. 1175	Alan O'Sullivan	1248	1252
archy		cir. 1206	Thomas	1253	1270
Felix	—	cir. 1217	John Roche	1270	1279
Thomas	—	cir. 1217	Richard Cor	1279	1308
Robert of Bedford	1218	1222	William de Flem-		
Griffin Christo-			ing	1309	1321
pher•	1223	1245	John Leynagh	1322	1354
			Thomas le Reve	1358	1393

* He was not consecrated till 1227.

WATERFORD.*

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Tostius	—	—	Robert	1210	1222
Augustin	1175	cir. 1199	William Wace	1223	—
Robert	1200	—	Walter	1227	—
David	1204	1209	Stephen	—	sat 1246
			Henry	1249	—
			Philip	1251	1254
			William	1255	1272
			Stephen Fulburn	1273	tr. 1286
			Walter Fulburn	1286	1307
			Matthew	1307	1322
			Nicholas Welifed	1322	1337
			Richard Francis	1338	1348
			Roger Cradock	1350	res. 1362

* Its oldest seal now known dates back to 1296. The design of the seal of the dean was a Virgin and Child, under a canopy.

ARDMORE.

Eugene sat in 1175

WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Robert Read	1394 res.	1396	John Brennan*	1671	1693
Thos. Sparkford	1396	1397	Richard Piers		
John Depping	1397	1399	Stritch	1696 cir.	1735
Thomas Snell	1399 tr.	1408	Francis Sylvester		
Roger	1408 ?	1409	Lloyd	1739 cir.	1750
John Geese*	1409	1425	Peter Creagh	1750	1774
Richard†	1426	1446	William Egan	1774	1788
Robert Poer	1446	1471	Thomas Hussey	1797	1803
Richard Martin	1472	—	John Power	1804	1817
John Bolcomp	1475 res.	1479	Robert Walsh	1817	1821
Nicholas Hen- nessy	1480	1482	Patrick Kelly	1822	1829
John	1482	—	Wm. Abraham	1830	1837
Thomas Purcell	1486	1517	Nicholas Foran	1837	1855
Nicholas Comyn	1519 res.	1551	Dominick O'Brien	1855	1873
John Machray	1550 cir.	1554	John Power	1873	—
Patrick Walsh	1554	1578			
John White was Vicar-Apost.	1578	1629			
Patk. Comerford	1629	1652			

* Some entries give, in the year 1414, Thomas, Bishop of Elphin, as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and that John Geese was set aside; yet, by-and-by, they give the restoration of John Geese.

† *Hib. Dom.* states that Thomas Brith was bishop from 1438 to 1446.

* The earliest seal met with is that of Bishop Cor, in 1279. The legend was: "Richardus Dei Gratia Episcopus Lismorensis." The seal of the clergy is as early as 1320. An old crosier of Lismore, lately discovered, has this inscription: "Pray for Niall M'Educaín (who died 1113), for whom was made this precious thing. Pray for Nechtain, the artist who made this precious thing."

ROSS.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Benedict	1172 cir.	1190	Maurice	1254 res.	1269
Maurice	1190 cir.	1196	Walter O'Mictian	1269	1274
Florence	1199	1222	Peter O'Holcan	1275	1290
Robert	1222 ^{sat in}	1225	Laurence	1290	1309
Florence	— res.	1252	Matthew O'Flin	1310	1330

	Suc.	Died.
Laurence O'Holdican	1331	1335
Denis	1366	1377
Bernard O'Connor	1378	—
Stephen Brown	1402	—
Matthew*	—	cir. 1417
Walter Formay	1418	1423
Cornelius M'Elcade	1426	1448
Odo	1480	cir. 1494
Edmund Courcey†	1494	res. 1517

* Dr. Brady's *Episcopal Succession* gives, in 14—, Maurice Borin; in 1431, Walter Leycester; in 1448, Donald; in 1473, Odo O'Driscoll; in 1482, Thadæus; in 1519, Thady Irrill, Bishop of Dromore, (?) had it united to his own; and in 1526, Demetrius Maccar.

† The earliest legend of Ross met with is: "Secretum: Stephani: Episcopi: Rossensis," in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Dr. Brady is not quite correct in regard to the date of

	Suc.	Died.
John Murrily	1517	1519
Bonaventure	1519	ante 1530
Demetrius Machar	1526	—
Maurice O'Fihely	1554	—
Maurice O'Hea	1559	—
Thos. O'Herlihy	1561	1580
Bonaventure Nacten	1582	—
Florence M'Carthy	—	—
was V.-Apost. in	1620	—
Robt. Barry, V.-Apost. of it as of Cork	—	—
Boetius Egan	1647	1650

From that time governed by Administrators, till united with Cloyne in 1748, it was erected subsequently into an independent see.

	Suc.	Died.
William Keane	1850	tr. 1857
Michael O'Hea	1858	1877
Wm. Fitzgerald	1877	—

resignation of De Courcey, or the date of succession of his two successors.—See *Annals of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*.

TUAM.

	Suc.	Died.
Catholicus O'Duffy	1161	1201
Felix O'Ruadan	1201	res. 1234
Marian O'Loughnan	1234	1249
Florence M'Flin	1250	1256
Walturn D'Salern	1257	1258
Thomas O'Connor	1259	1279
Stephen Fulburn	1286	1288
William Birmingham	1289	1311
Malachy M'Eda	1313	1348
Thomas O'Carroll	1349	tr. 1364

	Suc.	Died.
John O'Grada	1364	1371
Gregory	1372	1384
William Cormacan*	1386	res. 1394
Maurice Kelly	1394	1407

* Some count O'Moghan, though confirmed by the Anti-Pope, Clement VII., among the Tuam bishops.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
John Babynge*	1410	1427	Thos. O'Mullaly	1513	1536
John Barley	1427 sat	1436	Arthur O'Frigil	1538	—
Thomas O'Kelly	1438	1441	Christopher Bod-		
John De Burgo	1441	1450	kin	1555	1572
Redmund Birming-			Nicholas Skerrett	1580	1583
ham	1451	1451	Marianus O'Hig-		
Donogh O'Murray	1458	1484	gins	1586	—
William Joyce†	1485	1501	James Hely	1591	—
Philip Pinson	1503	1503	Florence Conry	1609	1629
Maurice de Portu	1506	1513	Malachy Queely	1630	1645
			John De Burgo	1647	1666
			James Lynch	1669	1714
			Francis De Burgo	1713	—
			Bernard O'Gara	1724	1740
			Michael O'Gara	1740	1748
			Mark Skerrett	1749	1782
			Philip Philips	1785	1787
			Boetius Egan	1787 cir.	1798
			Edward Dillon	1798	1809
			Oliver Kelly	1814	1834
			John M'Hale	1834	—
			John M'Evilly,		
			Coadj.	1876	—

* In 1411, some Vatican entries state that one Cornelius was appointed, as John did not receive the bulls of consecration. Pope Alexander, who appointed John, had died before bulls were expedited, but I suppose Pope John XXIII. forwarded them.

† Others give Peter Burgundius, in the year 1486.

ACHONRY.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Mælruan O'Rua-			David	—	1348
dan	1152 sat	1170	Nicholas Hedrain	1348	1373
Gelasius O'Rua-			William Andrew	1374 tr.	1380
dan	—	1214	Simon	1381	—
Clemens O'Sina-			O'Hara	—	1396
daig	—	1219	Thos. M'Donough	— cir.	1398
Carus O'Torpy	—	1226	Bernard	1401	1409
Gelisa O'Clery	—	1230	Majon Chradan	1410	—
Thos. O'Ruadan	—	1237	Laurence*	1414	—
Ængus O'Cloman	1238 res.	1250			
Thos. O'Meachan	1251	1265			
Denis O'Meachan	1266 res.	1283			
Benedict	1286	—			
Henry	—	1297			
Benedict O'Bro-					
gan	—	1311			
David of Kil-					
kenny	1312	—			
Murchard O'Hara	1327 sat	1344			

* Harris, relying on the *Belgium Dominicale*, makes Laurence succeed in 1445; the successor, Thadæus, to die in 1448; the succession of Cornelius in 1449; that of James Blake-don in 1449, his translation in 1452, and the death of his successor in 1472.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Donatus	—	—	James Fallon was		
Richard Belmer	1424	—	Vicar-Apost. in	1641	—
Bishop O'Hara			Lewis Dillon	1641	1645
(Rufus)	—	1435	Hugh M'Dermot	1707	cir. 1725
Nicholas Daly	1436	—	Dominick Daly	1725	1735
Thadaeus	—	ante 1442	John O'Harte	1735	1739
James Blakedon	1442	tr. 1448	Walter Blake	1739	1758
Thadaeus	1448	1448	Patrick Robert		
Cornelius O'Moch-			Kirwan	1758	1776
ray	1449	1472	Philip Philips	1776	tr. 1785
Robert Wellys	1473	—	Boetius Egan	1785	tr. 1787
Bernard	—	1488	Thomas O'Connor	1787	1803
John de Bucla-			Charles Lynch	1803	1809
mants	1489	—	John O'Flynn	1809	1717
Richard	—	1492	Patk. M'Nicholas	1818	1852
Thomas Ford	1492	—	Patrick Durcan	1852	1875
Thos. O'Congolan	—	1508	Francis J. M'Cor-		
Eugene O'Flana-			mack	1875	—
gan	1508	—			
Cormac	1517	cir. 1529	In 1666 and 1672 Maurice		
Eugene	1530	1546	Carcan was V.G.		
Thomas O'Fihil	1547	tr. 1555	In 1678 Maurice Donnellan		
Cormac O'Coyn	1556	1561	was V.G.		
Eugene O'Harte	1562	1603	In 1683 Hugh M'Dermott		
			was Vicar-Apost.		

CLONFERT.

			Suc.	Died.
Peter O'Morda	—	1171		
Maelisa M'Award	—	1173	Thos. De Burgo	1444 1446
Maolcallan	—	1187	John With	1446 res. 1447
Daniel O'Find	—	1195	Cornelius O'Mul-	
O'Cormacan	1201	ante 1204	lady	1447 tr. 1448
A bishop	1218	sat —	Cornelius O'Cun-	
Thomas	—	1248	lis*	1448 cir. 1469
Cormac O'Lumlin	—	1259	Matthew M'Grath	1482 sat 1507
Thomas O'Kelly	—	1263	David De Burgo	1508 1509
John	1264	tr. 1294	Denis Moore†	1509 1518
Robert	1294	1307		
Gregory O'Broggy	1308	1319		
John O'Lean	1321	1336		
Thomas O'Kelly	1346	cir. 1377		
Maurice O'Kelly	1378	tr. 1394		
Wm. O'Cormacan	1394	—		
David Corry	1398	—		
Thomas Kelly	sat 1415	tr. 1438		
John Heyn	1438	cir. 1442		

* In 1469 Dr. Cunlis is called ex-Bishop of Clonfert, and now bishop in the Universal Church, as having resigned.—*Brady*.

† *Hib. Dom.* says he was a Dominican; others claim him as a Franciscan.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Roland De Burgo	1534	1580	Andrew Donnellan,		
Thadaeus O'Ferrall	1587	1602	Coadj.	1776	1786
Thadaeus Egan was			Thomas Costello,		
Vicar-Apost. in	1620	—	Coadj.	1787	1831
John De Burgo	1641	tr. 1647	Thomas Coen,	1831	1847
Walter Lynch	1647	1466	John Derry	1847	1871
Thadaeus Keogh	1671	1687	Patrick Duggan	1871	—
Maurice Donnellan	1695	1701			
(was V.G. in	1692)	—	In 1664, Gyldam Bruodin		
Ambrose Madden	1713	1721	was V.G., on death of Walter		
Edmund Kelly	1718	1733	Lynch.		
Peter Donnellan	1733	1778	1668. Daniel Kelly acted as		
			V.G.		

ENAGHDUNE.

			Suc.	Died.
Con O'Malley	—	1201		
A bishop	1227	—	John Wynn	1408
Mortough O'Flaherty	—	1241	Matthew	—
A bishop sat in	1244	—	John Camere, or	
Thomas O'Malley	1247	cir. 1251	Bonere	1421
Concord	1250	—	John M'Brady	1425
John*	1284	—	Donat Lynam	
Gilbert	1305	1324	dugryn	1431
James O'Kearney	1324	tr. 1324	Thomas	—
Robert le Petit	1325	—	John Slomogan*	1428
Thomas O'Malley	—	cir. 1330	Thomas Barrett	1438
Thos. O'Donnell	—	1340	Thomas Salscot	1446
Thomas	—	1359	Thomas	—
Dionysius	1360	—	Raymund†	1450
John	—	—	Francis	1496
Henry Tuillow	1394	1402	Henry De Burgo	1540
John Britt	1402	—		

* In August, 1284, John Elect got leave to go to Rome on business for two years.—*Pat.*, 12, Ed., 1, m. 6.

* He was a Killaloe man.

† Donogh O'Murry is represented as Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Enaghdone in 1450. It was united to Tuam in 1555.

GALWAY.

It was governed by wardens since 1484, till erected into a bishopric in the year 1831.

George Joseph Plunket Browne	1831	tr. 1844
Laurence O'Donnell	1844	1855
John M'Evilly	1856	—

ELPHIN.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Flanachan O'Duffy	—	1168	John Finachty	1326	1354
Maelisa O'Conach- tain	—	1174	Gregory	1356 tr.	1372
Maolcallam	—	1186	Thomas Barrett	1372	1404
Florence Mulrony	—	1195	Thomas Colby*	—	—
Ardgall O'Connor	—	1214	John O'Grady†	1405	1417
Denis O'Mulkia- ran	—	1224 1229	Robert Fosten	1418	—
Denis O'Morda Allen*	1224 res.	1229	Maolcallam‡	—	sat 1432
Donagh O'Connor	1232	1244			
John O'Hughroin	1245	1246			
Cornelius Rufus	1246	1246			
Thomas O'Connor	1246 res.	1259			
Thomas M'Farrell M'Dermott†	1260	1265			
Maurice O'Connor	1266	1284			
Auliffe O'Tomolthy	—	—			
Gelasius M'Inlai- anig	1285	1296			
Marianus‡	1297	1302			
Donat O'Flanagan	1303	1308			
Malachy M'Eda	1308 tr.	1313			
Laurence O'Lacht- nan	1314	1325			

* Some omit Allen, and make O'Connor immediately succeed to O'Mordú.

† Some count Milo O'Connor archbishop, consecrated by the Primate of Armagh in 1360, not by his own metropolitan.

‡ Not noticed by Ware, Harris, or the writer on Irish sees in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Consequently, they have blundered as to the date of succession of Dr. O'Flanagan. There can be no room for Malachy, whom Ware would place between the years 1296 and 1302.

* Some give Thomas Colby as coadjutor to Dr. Barrett; others state that he succeeded only in 1412, and was translated in 1414; while many prolong his reign till 1423. His actual translation to Lismore in 1414 is not at all likely, because John Geese had been appointed bishop in 1409, and it is very unlikely that he required a coadjutor bishop in 1414—the period assigned to the appointment of Dr. Colby to Lismore. He presided till 1425; but during that or at any subsequent period Dr. Colby was not Bishop of Lismore.

† Other entries make Dr. O'Grady succeed in 1407. Dr. Colby in 1412, Laurence O'Brolcan in 1429, O'Finneachta in 1450.—*Brady*.

‡ Some derive this name from St. Columba, that is, *maol*, a servant of Columba; others say that it came from the Kalends, just as there is a servant of Lent, *maolcorgas*, and a servant of All Hallow's, *maolsamna*.

The motto on the seal of Elphin was Virgin and Child. The legend ran as follows:—“Sigil: Dec: et-Capit: Eccles: Cathed: de Elphin.”

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Wm. O'Hedigan	—	1444	Bernard O'Donnell	1541	—
Cornelius O'Mul-			Bernard O'Higgins	1542 res.	—
ligan	1449	1468	John O'Heyne	1545	1561
Nicholas O'Flana-			Andrew O'Crean	1562	1594
gan*	1468 res.	1494	Demetrius Healy	—	—
George Brant†	1499 res.	—	Raymund Galvery	—	—
Christopher Fisher	—	1511	Nicholas was V.-		
Thomas Welsh	1511 sat	1521	Apost. in	1620	—
John Max	1525	1536	Boetius Egan	1625	1650
Wm. M'Gennis	1539	—	Thomas Higgins		
Gabriel de St. Sevo	1539 tr.	1541	was V.G. in	1666	—
			James Ferrall in	1669	—
			Dominick De		
			Burgo	1671	1706
			Ambrose M'Der-		
			mott	1707	1717
			Gabriel O'Kelly	1718	1731
			Patrick French	1731	1748
			John Brett	1748 tr.	1748
			James O'Fallon	1756	1786
			Edmund French	1786	1810
			George Thomas		
			Plunket	1814	1827
			Patrick Burke	1818	—
			George Jos. Plun-		
			ket Browne	1844	1858
			Laurence Gillooly	1858	—

* According to Wadding, Nicholas O'Flanagan was appointed on the representation of the death of a bishop, John, and on that account his election was declared invalid.

† Some make Richard O'Brien succeed in 1492, and be succeeded by George Bran in 1499, and though the latter resigned, and of course got a substitute, yet his third successor is said to succeed in 1525, on the death of George Bran.—See *Brady*.

KILLALA.

	Suc.	Died.			
Imar O'Ruadan	—	1177	William O'Dowda	1346	1350
Donat O'Bioda*	1198	1207	Robert	1351	1380
Cormac O'Torpaid	—	1226	Thomas Ladowis	1381	1388
John, or Ængus			Thomas Orwill	1389 tr.	1400
Mælfugamur (?)	—	1234	Thomas	1400	—
Gilkelly O'Ruadan	—	1253	Murdagh Cleragh	—	1403
John O'Laidig ante†	1255	1275	Hanneka	1416	—
Donat O'Flaherty	1281	1305	Conor O'Connell	—	1423
John O'Lahive	—	1343			

* Irish Annals record O'Duffy's death in 1209, and O'Kelly's in 1214, both bishops of Killala.

† Some make John and O'Laidig different. Certain it is that

the Pope of the day pressed John to resign, owing to some irregularity (*defectu natalium*) in consecration. If they were the same person, he did not die till 1275.

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Fergal Fitzmartin*	1425	1431	Francis Kirwan	1645 cir.	1654
Manus O'Dowda	—	1436	Ambrose Mad-		
Bernard Stennell†	—	1460	den*	1695	—
Conor O'Connell‡	1460	1461	Thadaus O'Rorke	1703	—
Donat O'Connor	1461	—	Peter Archdekin	1736	—
O'Higgins	—	1468	Bernard O'Rorke	1739	—
Thomas	1471 sat	—	John Brett	1743 tr.	1748
John O'Cashin	— res.	1490	Mark Skerrett	1749 tr.	1749
Thomas	1493 sat	—	Bonaventure M'Don-		
Thomas Clarke	1500 res.	1505	nell	1749	—
Malachy O'Clune	1505	—	Philip Philips	1760 tr.	1776
Richard Barrett	— sat	1525	Alexander Irwin	1776	1779
Raymund O'Gal-			Dominic Bellew	1779	1813
lagher	1545 tr.	1569	Peter Waldron	1814	1834
Donatus O'Gal-			John M'Hale,		
lagher	1570 tr.	1580	Coadj.	1825 tr.	1834
John O'Caheesy	1580	—	Francis O'Finan	1835	1847
Andrew Linch, V.-			Thomas Feeney	1847	1873
Apost. in	1642	—	Hugh Conway	1873	—

* Some give Tomin as bishop in 1425.

† According to some entries, Bernard is represented as succeeding Martin and a bishop, Thomas, in 1453.—*Brady*.

‡ I must put the accession of Dr. O'Connell to 1460, as Bernard, his immediate predecessor (omitted by Harris), died early in that year.

* In 1654 John Duley was V.G., instead of John De Burgo.

In 1666. Richard Lee.

1671. John De Burgo, Vicar-Apost.

1676 John Duley.

1680. Abbe John De Burgo, Vicar-Apost. and in 1682., was V.G.

KILFENORA.

	Suc.	Died.
A bishop sat*	1218	—

* A letter had been addressed by Pope Honorius III. to the Bishop of Kilfenora in January, the second year of his Holiness' pontificate. Now, as he began to reign in July, 1216, the letter in question must have been written in January, 1218. On this ground I differ from the *J. E. Record*, which states (p. 220)

that the letter was not written before July, 1219.

The legend on the first seal met with reads:—"Sig: Capit: Eccles. Cath. Sti: Fecknani: Fenaboren." The motto were angels above in adoration, grouped over what appears our Saviour chained to the pillar, with scourges in the hands of two persons on either side and uplifted; and then follows, "ejus livore."

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Christianus	—	1265	Maurice O'Brien,		
Maurice, or Henry	1265	1273	or Othey	1491 post	1529
Florence O'Tigher-			John O'Naylan	1532 post	—
nach	1273	1281	John O'Nalan	1541	1772
Charles	1281	—	Daniel Griffy was		
Congall O'Lognan	—	1300	V.G., and Vicar-		
Simon O'Currin	—	1303	Apost. in	1634	—
Maurice O'Brien	1303	1321	Andrew Lynch	1647	1673
Richd. O'Loghnan	1323	1359			
Dionysius	—	1371			
Henry	1372	—	<i>Vicars.</i>		
Patrick	—	sat 1394	James Augustine		
Felim O'Loghnan	1421	1434	O'Daly	1732	1750
Denis O'Cahan	1435 res.	1491			

United then to Kilmacduagh.

KILMACDUAGH.

			Suc.	Died
Rugnad O'Ruadan	—	1178		
M'Gilla O'Ruadan	1201 ante	1203	Cornelius O'Dea*	1542
O'Kelly	—	1214	Malachy O'Mol-	
Torlogh O'Connor	—	1223	ony	1576 cir. 1613
O'Shaunessy	—	1223	Hugh De Burgo	1647 1653
Mælmurry O'Con-				
nor	—	1224	<i>Vicars.</i>	
Odo	1227	—	Michael Linch was	
Conor O'Murry	—	1247	V.-Apost. in	1677
Gelasius M'Scelaig	—	1249	Martin Burke was	
Maurice Ileyan	—	1283	V.-Capit. in	1692
David Sedagan	1284	1290	Ambrose Madden	
Laurence Loghnan	1290	1306	having been Adm.	
Luke	1306	1325	since 1695,	1707 tr. 1713
John	1326	1357	Edmund Lynch was	
Nicholas	1358	1377	V.G. in	1716-17
Gregory Ileyan	—	1399	Francis De Burgo	1720
Nicholas Ileyan	—	1399	Bernard Hara	1723
John Icomaid	—	1401	Martin Burke	1732
Eugene O'Folan	1409 tr.	1418	Peter Kilkelly	1744
Dermot M'Don-			Laurence Nihel	1783 1795
ogh	1418	—		
John Jiombarg	1419	—		
Nicholas	1422	—		
Cornelius	1493 res.	1502		
Matthew O'Brien	1503 sat	1532		
Malachy Molony	1533 res.	1533		
Christopher Bod-				
kin	1533	1572		

* O'Dea is said by some to succeed Matthew O'Brien.—*Brady.*

	Suc.	Died.		Suc.	Died.
Edward Dillon	1795	tr. 1798	Patrick Fallon	1853	res. 1866
Nicholas Joseph Archdeacon	1800	—			died 1879
Edmund Ffrench	1824	1852	John M'Evilly, Adm.	1866	—

MAYO.

Keile O'Duffy	—	1210	Hugh	—	1493
Gilla na Nev O-Rua- dan	—	1213	John Bell	1483	—
Stephen Braoin	—	1231	Eugene Mach Bren	1541	—
Wm. Prendergast	1428	res. 1430	Dermot O Diera	1574	—
Nicholas Wagomail	1430	—	Patrick O'Hely	1576	cir. 1579
John	—	—	Adam Magauran	1585	—
Martin Campania	1432	—	Subsequently united to Ach- onry.		
Odo O'Higgins	—	1478			

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

At page 206, note, vol. i., instead of "the Missal here falls into a mistake," &c., please read "the Missal here falls into an apparent mistake," &c. For the Missal quotes not from St. John, but St. Mark, who gives *Tierce* as the hour of the Crucifixion. (Mark xv. 25.)

At p. 269, col. 2, line 7, vol. ii., as an expansion of the Irish contraction, for "a ṛoċenel" read "a ṛoċenedlta;" and at p. 115, col. 2, vol. i., for "noblest boon of the Christian flock," read, as the translation of the above, "purest in nature among the Christian flock." This, to my mind, involves the idea of the Immaculate Conception. Eve, who was immaculate, is excluded from the comparison, but not St. John Baptist sanctified in his mother's womb, who as fully belonged to the Christian times as the Immaculate Virgin.

At p. 255, vol. i., note, by mistake the *ministeria* have been classed under the last division of the second foundation, rather than under the third foundation; and thus the note on the "four ministers," so far as based on the classification in the *Leabhar Breac*, loses its point. But the meaning of *minister* is correctly given, as is made more evident by Gregory of Tours: "Sacerdos pelago operitur, habens ad collum cum Evangeliorum libro *ministerium* quotidianum, id est, patenulam parvam cum calice." *Gloria Confes.*, ch. 32.

At p. 334, col. 1, line 18, vol. ii., instead of *quinto* the contraction *v.* should be expanded into *vide*.

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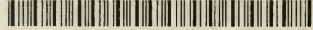
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